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TRAVELS

IN

IRELAND,

IN THE YEAR 1822,

EXHIBITING

BRIEF SKETCHES

OF

THE MORAL, PHYSICAL, AND POLITICAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY:

WITH

REFLECTIONS ON THE BEST MEANS OF IMPROVING ITS CONDITION.

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BY THOMAS REID,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS IN LONDON, AND SURGEON IN THE ROYAL NAVY;

AND AUTHOR OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW SOUTH WALES AND VAN DIEMAN'S LAND.

That country can never prosper, where what should be the ambition of men of honour, is considered as a disgrace. *Fox's Letter to Lord Charlemont.*

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1823.

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TO THE READER.

EVERY man who ventures to appear before the public as an author is expected to give some account of himself, as well as his motives for trespassing on public attention: this expectation I shall endeavour not to disappoint.

As the following sheets came from the press, they were submitted for perusal to a liberal-minded friend, who, after offering his own opinion, remarked, "But the enemies of toleration will assuredly set you down as a Catholic." If that will increase their happiness, I have not the least objection; the fear of such an imputation does not greatly disturb my repose. Long experience has thoroughly convinced me, that a *good* Catholic is a valuable member of society in any country, though I confess, I set out in life with very different notions.

On the subject of religious persuasion, I can have no difficulty in expressing my sentiments;

but will first observe, that I value the man a thousand times more, whose mind and conduct are influenced by the pure principles of religion *itself*, than him who knows it only by *name*. Let it not be imagined that I think creeds or forms of worship unimportant. I have endeavoured to learn something of the tenets of every form of Christian worship; and am fully satisfied, that the *Protestant* is incomparably superior to every other. In its principles I was rigidly educated, and my attachment to it can only terminate with existence. In the same principles, many generations of my ancestors were brought up.

Having explained thus much, I may be permitted to say a few words relative to Orangeism, on which it is suspected, not perhaps unjustly, that I am prejudiced; if so, my prejudice has a very different direction from what is generally imagined. To that association belong some of my nearest relations, and many of my most valued friends, — men whom I have always revered, and will for ever love. Youthful impressions and the bias of education are not easily removed; the ties of nature and friendship draw me closely

to the *men*, while reason and experience separate me widely from the *party*.

On the subject of politics I never before expressed an opinion, nor could any thing have induced me to embark on an ocean so troubled but the critical state of my native land. To this I have largely sacrificed convenience and personal feeling. The extent of misery in Ireland was but little known to the world, and is but faintly sketched in these pages. Being wholly unconnected with party of every sort, I have endeavoured to describe impartially what I saw, neither fearing nor wishing to offend any man.

The undisguised manner in which my sentiments are expressed, and the frequent mention of myself, will enable the critics to exercise their powerful weapons; — I hope something luminous and *useful* may be elicited. Whether the voice of criticism, or interested party, come like the gentle zephyr, or the furious hurricane, is a matter of perfect indifference; I would not give a farthing to ensure the one, or avert the other.

London, *January*, 1823.

ERRATA.

Page 63. line 16. from bottom, *for* "fortified lands," *read* "forfeited lands."
64. line 3. from top, *for* "Dermond," *read* "Dermod."
95. line 8. from top, *for* "people Ireland," *read* "people of Ireland."
140. line 7. from top, *for* "mischevious," *read* "mischievous."
185. line 17. from bottom, *for* "Finebrogne," *read* "Finebrogue."
211. head line, *for* "Lifford Gave," *read* "Lifford Gaol."
218. line 4. from bottom, *for* "coals," *read* "coal."
255. line 12. from top, *for* "north," *read* "south."

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TRAVELS IN IRELAND, &c.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF IRELAND.

In every inquiry it is important to determine some leading principle on which argument may rest; and, as Ireland has been the theatre of contention from time immemorial, it appears, that to give an impartial view of the revolution of property in that country, is the most simple way of accounting for the various political changes it has undergone. A brief examination, then, of the manner in which these changes have been brought about, and how far they have tended to promote the happiness or misery of the people exposed to their influence, cannot fail to prove interesting to the moral or political philosopher.

The worst state to which a nation can be reduced is that of indigence, wherein the necessaries of life are withheld from the great mass of the population. Ireland has recently been in that state, and although temporary relief has suspended the ruinous consequences of famine, still such a scene may again be witnessed, unless the causes be sought out and removed.

Enlightened men of the present day reflect, with surprise and incredulity, that a nation of more than seven millions

of hardy and industrious inhabitants, possessing a fertile, exuberant soil, and favoured with a genial climate, should experience want even for a moment; yet how must their astonishment be excited when they are told, that it is to moral causes, chiefly, all the evils of that unhappy country are to be traced, — that country, to use the language of a man whose wisdom was as eminent as his patriotism was sincere, " for which nature has done every thing, and man nothing."

It should ever be a maxim of prudential polity in every country where population is great, or tending to increase, to solicit the natural advantages of the situation, and by means of the abundance thence arising, preclude the encroachments of idleness and poverty, to which human nature is constantly prone. Poverty is the nurse of crime; and ignorance, with all the dark passions, is apt to revel where intelligence, good order, and virtuous forbearance would exist, were the comforts or necessary means of support still at hand. In Ireland all the natural advantages adequate to the maintenance of an unbounded population are to be found in an eminent degree; yet still, although under the protection of the most enlightened form of government the world ever knew, the great majority of the inhabitants is involved in misery, lamentable ignorance, and necessarily imputable crime.

This is a frightful picture, the more particularly so as it applies to the aggregate but not to individuals; for all unprejudiced writers invariably acknowledge Irishmen to be naturally possessed of qualities most fit to promote the advancement and happiness of society, even in their reputed barbarous state at home; and of such as have gone into the service of foreign powers, some have left, others still maintain, a name distinguished for politeness, bravery, and

talents of the highest order. A writer — himself a proof — as eminent for refined taste and literary acumen, as he is for sound and enlightened philosophy, has collected the sentiments of several authors relative to the Irish character, and illumined the draught from the treasures of his own observation. In sketching the manners of this people, he proceeds to say: —

"Its popular character and customs distinguish and disincline Ireland from England. Varieties have been sought in the national disposition, referable to the double origin of the Irish people, in vain: however differing in rank, party, or ancestry, they bear the indelible mark of a common nativity. Restless, yet indolent; shrewd, and indiscreet; impetuous, impatient, and improvident; instinctively brave, thoughtlessly generous; quick to resent and forgive offences, to form and renounce friendships; they will forgive injury rather than insult; their country's good they seldom, their own they carelessly, pursue; but the honour of both they eagerly vindicate. Oppression they have long borne, insolence never.

"With genius they are profusely gifted, with judgment sparingly; to acquire knowledge they find more easy than to arrange and employ it: inferior in vanity only to the French, and in wit superior, perhaps, even to the Italian, they are more able to give, and more ready to receive amusement than instruction: in raillery and adulation they freely indulge, but without malignity or baseness. It is the singular temper of this people, that they are prone equally to satirize and to praise, and patient alike of sarcasm and flattery.

"Inclining to exaggerate, but not intending to deceive, you will applaud them rather for sincerity than truth. Accuracy is not the merit, nor duplicity the failing of a

lively but uncultivated people. Their passions lie on the surface, unsheltered from irritation or notice: and cautious England is too fond of recognizing the Irish character only by those inconsistencies and errors which her own novercal government has contributed to produce and perpetuate."

Regarding the manners of the peasantry, he further says: "In agricultural pursuits they are neither active nor expert; hereditary indolence would incline them to employ their lands in pasturage; and it is always more easy to induce them to take arms, than to cultivate the earth, and wait upon the seasons. Even at this day, the sons of the old inheritors are suspected of being more ready to regain their possessions by their blood, than their labour. Their very amusements are polemical; fighting is a pastime, which they seldom assemble without enjoying; not, indeed with iron weapons, but with light clubs, which they always carry, and frequently and skilfully use. When not driven by necessity to labour, they willingly consume whole days in sloth, or as willingly employ them in riot; strange diversity of nature, to love indolence and hate quiet—to be reduced to slavery, but not yet to obedience."

That this character applies generally at the present day there is little reason to dispute, but that it has been ever the same is more than doubtful. This might be determined by reference to the early history of colonization preserved in the annals of this ancient people; but as the scope of this inquiry will not admit of an extended investigation of a subject so curious, it may suffice to present a concise outline of its most prominent features.

There is not, perhaps, in the history of mankind a more remarkable phenomenon than the duration of the Irish language, which has existed, both oral and written, in primeval purity, during a period commencing many

centuries previous to Christianity down to the present hour, a fact supported by authentic documents still surviving the revolutions of time. These documents consist of manuscript records on parchment, written with the utmost precision, and preserved with extreme care through successive generations. They are to be found in various parts of Europe, in good condition generally, and written for the most part in a very ancient character, remarkable for its beauty and simplicity.

These manuscripts repose, many in Trinity College, Dublin; also in the King's Library at Copenhagen; a great many in the Royal Library at Paris, and by far the greater number at Rome. There is, moreover, a valuable collection belonging to the Bodleian Library, besides the treasure which has been transferred to the Irish Library at Stowe, from the care of the late venerable Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, and of which some are in progress of translation by his grandson, the reverend Dr. O'Conor, under the patronage of his Grace the Duke of Buckingham. Another portion of those precious remains of antiquity has recently appeared in an English dress, from the pen of Mr. Roger O'Connor, of Dangan, which are stated by that gentleman as having been *recovered from the tomb*, where they must have lain for a very great length of time. The latter, called the Chronicles of Eri, are preserved in the most ancient form, namely, the skins containing the record being stitched together by the ends, and fastened to a roller of wood.

These chronicles maintain, that the people who colonized Ireland in early times migrated originally from Scythia; assuming various denominations as they proceeded westward, they formed settlements in many parts of Asia, in Greece, Italy, along the shores of the Mediterranean, in

Spain, and finally in Ireland, which was named by them *Erin*, signifying the western land.

Were there no other evidence existing of their eastern origin than the lively turn of mind, excursive fancy, warm, figurative expression, habitual love of ease, and cheerful conversation, these traits alone might be deemed satisfactory proofs. But, besides a palpable identity of ancient customs, such as those described by Virgil, and which are familiar to every one acquainted with the living manners of the Irish peasantry, there still are to be seen numerous monuments * which are of considerable importance to in-

* These monuments are so numerous, that an account of them would fill volumes. Many of them have been made the subject of dissertation by men of respectable literary research, such, for instance, as the *Ship-temple*, near *Dundalk*; the cave, said to be a temple of the sun, at *Grange*, near *Drogheda*; the *Amphitheatre in Kerry* discovered by JOHN LESLIE FOSTER, Esq.; the *Sepulchral Barrows*; lastly, perhaps, in point of antiquity, the *Round Towers*, which are as yet not satisfactorily described.

Other remains of antiquity claim particular attention, as affording still stronger light to various parts of Irish history, particularly that relative to the landing of the *Iberian Gaël*, or *Milesians*, in the island. Those annals, by many supposed "fabulous," distinctly state, that one division of that colony coming from Spain, under the command of a chief named *Heremon*, landed at a river called *Inbher Colpa*, on the eastern side of the island; whilst others effected their debarkation at different places in the south, under the directions of another chieftain named *Heber*.

One of the chiefs of Heremon's expedition, named *Colpa*, is mentioned in the chronicles as having lost his life at the landing, and the river was named Inbher Colpa in honour of his memory. It is also worthy of note, that the Boyne still retains that name; the parish adjacent to the river's mouth is also called "the parish of Colp," pronounced Cope, being the same as the former term, softened by the favourite elision of the language. The history describes a battle fought between the *Tuatha da Danaan* and the people of Heremon, in which the landing was severely disputed. Here the antiquarian inquirer will doubtless be agreeably surprised to learn that testimonials of this event are in existence.

quiry, and on consideration will be found to remove all doubt regarding the genuineness and accuracy of those ancient records.

In the year 1806, some labourers were employed by Mr. *P. Maguire*, planting potatoes in a field at *Mayne*, a neat farm belonging to that gentleman, contiguous to the Colpa, on the north shore; when several urns of rude pottery were turned up from a depth of about eighteen inches below the surface. These urns were placed with the mouth underneath, and were filled with calcined human bones, intermixed with bits of copper gilt; and some contained golden *fibulæ*. One of the urns so found was deposited at the time with the *Royal Irish Academy*.

The credit of this part of the Irish annals is supported by another extraordinary fact. Westward of the scene of action just mentioned, and about five miles beyond *Collon*, the residence of the Right Honourable JOHN FOSTER, late Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, is a high grassy hill, of artificial construction, upon an eminence which overlooks the adjacent country. This hill is called *Carnach-Colp*, or the grave of Colpa, the warrior already mentioned. Like the other monuments with which this part of the country abounds, this was unknown, except in its unregarded name, until chance obtained for it some attention.

A respectable farmer, James Healy, resident on the spot, was having a field ploughed in 1805, at the foot of the Carn, when a large flat stone was turned up by accident; and an entrance formed like that of Grange by upright stones capped by others at right angles, was disclosed. This passage led into the interior of the monument, where the body of the chieftain had been, perhaps, deposited. It is probable that this place still contains valuable evidence of ancient manners, as it has not been explored; it was allowed to remain uncovered only for a very short time, because the farmer had lost some sheep which had strayed into it and never returned, killed, most likely, by the azotic air within.

It may, perhaps, be not unacceptable to state another circumstance, serving to illustrate a particular portion of the history given by Dr. Keating. It is there asserted, that *Cormac*, a monarch of Ireland who reigned in the beginning of the third century, was interred at a place called *Ros-na-Riogh*, signifying, the repose of kings, on the bank of the river Boyne. This place is still known by that name, and is the residence of a gentleman named *Coyle*; it is about seven miles westward of Drogheda, on the right bank of the river. The house is beautifully situated on an eminence, and stands, it appears, on the very site of the royal

The colonists from Spain, called *Iberian Gaël*, were led into Ireland by Heber and Heremon, and the expedition effected a landing on the eastern and southern coasts, having been dispersed by a storm. The date of this expedition, according to the Irish annals, was about 1290 years before Christ. It appears, however, that these tribes were not the first to settle in the island, as two other nations, the *Fir-bolgæ*, and *Tuatha-de-Danaan*, said also to be of Scythian origin, had been long in possession.

Victory having given to the Gaël the sovereignty of the country, they treated the vanquished with clemency; and, with a policy more wise and just than that of more modern times, admitted them to a fair participation in the soil. This triple alliance tended greatly to strengthen the conquerors, and an undisturbed tranquillity prevailed among the whole. "How happy for Ireland; what millions of money, and thousands of lives, might have been saved to Britain, had such principles of equity and sound policy governed Irish counsels for eighty years past!" The truth

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cemetery. About the year 1800, on making some repairs in a part of the house, the workmen discovered a subterranean building, consisting of several apartments, constructed of stones without cement, which appears to have been the most ancient mode of building with such materials. The extent of these repositories has not been determined, as the place was imperfectly explored, and has since been closed up.

These proofs, out of a vast number, are adduced to corroborate the truth of historical relations long derided as fabulous, or as invented for the vain purpose of maintaining that pretension to antiquity, which is so proudly claimed by all the writers of Irish history who have drawn their materials from the language. As many of these have never before been made public, credit is requested for the present mention of them only so far as on investigation they may be found correct, and that investigation is candidly challenged from those persons who have leisure or inclination to follow the directions by which those monuments have here been pointed out.

of this apostrophe of O'Halloran's would apply to a period long subsequent to that in which he wrote.

As population encreased, and other settlers, particularly a numerous tribe called *Scuits*, which fixed their residence in the northern parts, added to their numbers, petty competitions arose among them, until at length, in a general convocation at Tarah, a monarch was elected, who was to be looked upon as chief arbiter of all differences arising among the members of the confederacy. The first person chosen to this honour was *Eochaidh*, the celebrated *Ollam Fodhla*, who was unanimously declared *Ard-ri*, or supreme king, in the year 930. (B. C.)

This form of government, nearly patriarchal, there being, as it were, a common father to the various families composing the nation, continued, with little interruption, down to the introduction of Christianity; and to a people so constituted, the transition from the worship of Baal to that of the living God was easy and certain. The laws regarding property, moreover, tended considerably to cherish the principles of peace and reciprocal justice among them; for the rule of inheritance according to the Brehon-law, an unwritten code resembling the old common law of England, gave to each of the sons an equal participation in the father's estate; and this extended in full right of claim to all the next of kin; but such an arrangement could be applicable only to a confined population. A remarkable exception to the law of inheritance was observed in the election of their kings, the succession being transferred out of the direct descent in case of immoral character, illegitimate birth, or bodily defect.

Many other customs of the Irish in that state of society might be mentioned as equally worthy of remembrance; such as the *Biatagh* regulation of public hospitality, for

which provision was made at the national expence; the distinction of the different orders by peculiar garb; their cultivation of poetry and music, and of other sciences which argued a very advanced state of refinement; but as these things have been fully described by many authors, whose veracity has been proved by the severest tests of criticism, they are, for that reason, not further noticed here. One thing, however, must be admitted, that the people, in progress of time, lost much of their original simplicity, and partook, in some degree, of the general barbarism of the neighbouring nations.

The progress of Christian truth improved the civil condition of the country, and when southern Europe was wasted with the irruption of the northern tribes of Germany, and the splendour of the Roman empire became extinguished in gothic night, this happy island continued a secure refuge to the surviving science of those times, and learning was enthusiastically cherished in the numerous establishments of religious society which overspread the country.

Britain, then a prey to every marauding visitor, had no national character; a rude assemblage of military materials without order or design, destitute of literary reputation, except from individuals, whom the sacred thirst of knowledge urged to seek it where it could be found. The testimony of all the historians worthy of credit who have written of this dark period, is unanimous in asserting, that Ireland was then the seat of learning, and the concurrent admiration of Europe gave it the appellation of "the island of saints." The extensive and lofty ruins of buildings, raised for the purpose of education and piety, many of magnificent construction, are melancholy monuments of the revolutionary tendency of human events, which could

destroy institutions of such value to mankind. In one of those retreats of moral and scientific wisdom, Alfred, the deservedly boasted pride of England, was educated in his early years. Mayo, a school of eminence in those days, claims that honour. Students of all ranks flocked to the seminaries of Ireland for that literary quiet and instruction, which they could not find at home; and even Spain sent the children of her kings to partake of those advantages. A grave is still pointed out on the hill of Slane, the property of the Marquis CONYNGHAM, wherein a son of one of the kings of Spain is said to have been interred: the adjoining ruins are truly grand and picturesque.

As the affairs of Ireland have been greatly affected, even more than in other nations, by the connection of the civil government with the management of its religious concerns; it appears important to take a brief review of the occurrences arising from this combination after the introduction of Christianity. That event took place about the year 430 of the Christian era, although it is asserted by some, that the conversion of the Irish took place long prior to the mission of either Palladius or St. Patrick: *sub judice lis sit.*

The moral code of laws known to the people of Ireland under their ancient form of government, from the time of their first settlement in the island, must have been long observed previously to that event, in order to preserve so firm a root as it did, even after they became converted to the Christian faith. Indeed, there existed such a strong conformity between their ancient code, as given by Ollam Fodhla, and that of the Jews, that, if credit may be given to the Irish chronicles, (and their authenticity has not been disproved,) it would seem to be coeval with, if not more ancient than even the Mosaic record. Many centuries passed over the Scythian tribes from their first emigration

to their final settlement in Ireland (their own Erin, or land of the west,) and in all that period, and for several centuries after, they continued implicitly obedient to the provisions of that primitive and simple collection of moral ordinances.

The worship paid by those pagan tribes was to Baal, the source of mundane light, but this readily gave way to a more sublime religion, which taught the worship of the Author of light itself, and promised both earthly blessings, and the eternal possession of Divine enjoyments in an after life. It was in the pontificate of *Celestinus*, when Europe was involved in chaotic confusion and the deplorable uproar of barbarous turmoil; the lamp of learning miserably trampled under foot; the accumulated wisdom of lettered ages swept from the recesses of admiring genius, or stirred into wasteful conflagration by the sword; when only the mouldering wall of the plundered palace, or the public library, saved the wreck of the brightest effusions of human reasoning; then, happily, religion shed a ray upon the ruin, and kindled a desire to rescue these monuments of philosophy from destruction.

Christianity coming into Ireland brought in her train the sciences, frightened from the continent by the din of war; and among this peace-loving people, the mild precepts of the gospel were the more warmly cherished, because of the association of learning and true wisdom. Their favourite maxims of morality, as inculcated by their Ollams, or doctors, blended delightfully with the simple beauties of Christian justice and benevolence, whilst their astronomical knowledge was found to coincide with the lofty philosophy of Italy and Greece, and the strains of the bards harmonized with the charms of the classic muse.

The eagerness with which the principles of the Christian belief, so repugnant to the prevailing spirit of military

devastation, was cultivated by the new converts, may be estimated from the extraordinary efforts used by them to spread the light of gospel truth, in defiance of imminent and inevitable personal danger, over the greater part of the continent. The martyrologies and legends of writers, whose pious cares have recorded those transactions, bear ample and sufficient testimony to their laudable labours.

A holy zeal swallowed up every consideration of worldly concern; rank, ambition, every impulse of the human heart, gave way before the great desire to illumine the darkened minds of mankind; and one celestial impulse urged the most ardent and distinguished talents, not only to carry into effect the blessed purposes of the Christian dispensation, but to cultivate useful learning, and meliorate the condition of society, sunk and debased as it was by the errors of paganism, and the wasteful consequences of protracted and barbarous warfare.

Among the eminent men whose names have raised the reputation of Ireland, it may be sufficient to enumerate *Virgilius*, surnamed *Solivagus*, from his love of solitude. This man, born of noble parentage, had devoted himself to religion, and travelled over great part of the continent, and was received with distinguished honours by Pepin, of France. Virgilius was appointed bishop of Saltzburgh, and was less distinguished by that title than by the celebrity he acquired in maintaining the true form of the earth, a doctrine, doubtlessly, then well known and taught in his native country. Such a truth flashing on the darkness of the eighth century, was too dazzling for vulgar vision; the then reigning pope showed his fears of an innovation so dangerous to religion, and sentenced to degradation the person who dared to broach such profane and wicked doctrine. A successor of that blind and persecuting bigot,

however, after a lapse of about five hundred years, rewarded this great philosopher with a place on the calendar of saints!

The famous *Johannes Scotus Erigena*, also an Irishman, as his name implies, was eminent for his great natural and acquired endowments, and for splendour of wit, as well as solidity of judgment. His writings were various, embracing the usual subjects of theology and controversy, and his philosophical labours were enlivened occasionally with brilliant effusions of a fine poetic fancy. He was a favourite at the court of Charles the Bald, whence he was invited into England by Alfred the Great, and is said to have been the first professor of geometry and astronomy in the university of Oxford. Erigena translated the Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite, from the Greek, with elegance and fidelity.

This second instance of Irish talent is adduced, merely to satisfy those who might be led to think that Ireland had been always a barbarous country before it was favoured with civilization and refinement from England. Under the same impression the reader will excuse the insertion of the following account of those monastic institutions, which could furnish such bright examples: it is copied from a late number of the Quarterly Review.

"The monastic institutions became eminently useful. They attracted, regulated, and directed the zeal and the fanaticism of the times, making beneficial what would have been injurious, as waters, which would produce devastation in torrents, or render the air poisonous by stagnating marshes, serve for the use of man when collected in reservoirs and proper channels. While every generation produced some new schism in the east, founded upon some new subtlety, the western church was, in a great measure,

delivered from the pest of heresiarchs and heretics; for the spirits which might have taken an eccentric course were brought under the yoke of obedience; and if the monastery failed to produce its intended effect as a school, it served as a bedlam, where the maniac was indulged in all his humours, if any advantage to the community could be drawn from them, and authority was always at hand to restrain him from every thing hurtful. The monastery was a home for the studious, a refuge for the weak, and an asylum for the unhappy. Here were found statesmen who were capable of directing the affairs of princes, and missionaries to go among the fierce heathens by whom the Roman empire was subverted, ready to act their part well as martyrs if they failed, or as politicians if their efforts were successful. Here, and here only, were the schools of education: — the discipline indeed was severe and even cruel, and the instruction was barbarous; still this education, such as it was, saved the world from total ignorance. The light of knowledge was kept burning, not like the fabled lamps of the sepulchre, to be extinguished when day-light and free air were admitted, — it was carefully trimmed and preserved for happier generations."

These institutions were fully appreciated by the people, who held their inmates in the utmost reverence, insomuch, that although the rivalry of ambitious chiefs might kindle all the rage of war around them, all within the precincts of the monastery or religious retreat was hallowed and unmolested: the clerical costume commanded the most profound respect, and inveterate feud lost all its fierceness in the presence of the minister of religion. But the deference shown to the character of these pious men was a tribute only to their virtues; their holy lives were devoted to the happy task of benefiting their fellow-men: perfectly

disinterested with regard to worldly riches, the primitive gospel rule of poverty of life, and unostentatious labour for the spiritual improvement of the people, formed their sole line of duty.

One principal cause of the success attending the early teachers of Christianity in Ireland, arose from their succeeding to the office of the Ollam, or doctors, whom they superseded in the duty of giving instruction to youth, or joined with themselves, upon their conversion, in that office, which was one of the most cherished objects of public concern. As the doctors were particularly designed for that department of national polity, provision was made for their support at the public expence; so also the Christian clergy, who undertook the same charge, became particularly the objects of royal protection; and grants of land, with various immunities, were secured to them by the kings and minor chiefs for the building of monasteries, and abbies, and forming of scholastic foundations, similar to those formerly conducted by the Ollam.

Many individuals, urged by motives of piety, or desirous of instruction, attached themselves to these communities as lay brethren, and freely offered their assistance in relieving their spiritual associates from laborious employments, voluntarily managing the agricultural concerns of the establishment; for which reason the barren wastes, which for the sake of retirement had been mostly selected for the sites of such buildings, were soon converted into fields of fair and fertile appearance, and even still add considerable beauty to the ruins.

"The leisure thus obtained for the regular brethren," says the writer last quoted, "was employed by the more pious in religious meditation, by the more thoughtful in theological or scholastic studies; those whose inclinations

led them to more active literature, composed books, whilst others performed the humbler, but not less useful, task of copying them; and the arts of architecture, sculpture, painting and music, as connected with objects of religion, were cultivated in these convents. To the patient industry which was thus directed, we owe the preservation of most of the classics, and a large portion of history which would otherwise have been lost; and to the genius which was thus brought forth, we are beholden for those cathedrals which vie with the noblest monuments of the ancient world, if they do not indeed surpass them."

The monasteries of Ireland continued to be sanctuaries of learning throughout those dark ages, when the rest of Europe was agitated by the tempests of tumultuary war, and maintained an acknowledged pre-eminence in every branch of literature peculiar to themselves, besides such as would otherwise have been utterly annihilated. Were it not for the advantages of education held out in these last asyla of science, the work of invention might have proved more laborious, more honourable than succeeding ages have seen it; for whilst the western world was immersed in that barbarism which properly attends the sword, the silent pen was laying up that useful information which would console humanity for much of what it had lost. The liberal manner in which students frequenting these schools were received deserves to be recorded; the credit of the fact remains with Mr. O'Halloran: "Her princes and great men (meaning those of the *insula sanctorum et doctorum*,) founded the numerous universities of the kingdom on so generous and extensive plans, that not only the foreign students were found in clothes, diet, and lodgings, but *even with books, then so scarce an article*, gratis!"

In the beginning of the eighth century the repose of the

Irish monasteries began to be disturbed by the ravages of the Danes, who, availing themselves of the facilities which their light ships afforded, made frequent incursions into the northern parts of Britain and Ireland; and finding their depredations on the latter equal to the extent of their barbarous cupidity, renewed their sanguinary visits with a frequency that threatened those peaceful mansions with total destruction. In one of those plundering expeditions, the famous abbey of Benchoir (Bangor), in Down, was ransacked, and 900 of its unresisting inmates cruelly massacred. Such severe visitations were little relieved by the defence afforded by their natural protectors, who, it appears from the histories of those times, were so distracted by feuds among themselves, as to be unable to resist these hardy and ruthless invaders, who, waging an exterminating war, carried pillage and desolation into the heart of the country, and made themselves, for a long time, masters of a great part of the island. In this interval, which continued nearly two centuries, the Danes fortified Dublin, and founded many other towns along the eastern coast; nor were they effectually opposed until the eleventh century, when they were finally subdued at Clontarf; after which great defeat, those who remained became Christians, and having settled peaceably in the towns they had built, they made the first attempts at regular commerce; for, notwithstanding the splendid accounts of the wealth and riches of the country, and its great renown for shipping, nothing appears to establish the existence of any revenue directly arising from its foreign trade.

Under the disadvantages in which the want of adequate security left the monastic foundations, they fell away considerably from their original plan; and, in progress of time, their rights and immunities suffered still more from the

Irish chieftains themselves, many of whom, in open violation of all established usage, on many occasions influenced the election of abbots, frequently substituting their own relatives in place of those elected in the regular form; sometimes causing even laymen to be chosen as superiors to those religious communities.

The fundamental law of succession to the throne, in which the reigning family possessed hereditary right, but the subject claimed the power of electing the most deserving individual of that line, rendered that mode of conferring kingly honours a perpetual ground of intrigue and contention, which was usually decided by the sword. Such troubles added still more to the insecurity of the monasteries, and tended to defeat the exalted ends of their institution.

In these sanguinary disputes, the inferior chiefs being invariably involved, were sure to draw their adherents into the quarrel; and consequently the weightiest mischief of the feuds were sure to fall upon the people; and as these were devotedly attached to the clergy, they in turn came in for a share in the calamity, although no open or direct violation of person or property appears to have been exercised. Thus, between the pacific piety of the convent, and the desultory turbulence of their chieftains, the mass of the people was at once enlightened and severe; of internal polish and rude exterior; a conscientious observer of the laws of justice, and at the same time a stern avenger of their violation. In the words of Dr. Leland, "a robust frame of body, a vehemence of passion, an elevated imagination, were the characteristics of the people. Noble instances of valour, generous effusions of benevolence, ardent resentments, desperate and vindictive outrages, abound in their annals."

The main cause, however, of the depressed state of the population, and their backwardness in civilization, for that they were so, under those circumstances, must be admitted, was the uncertainty of tenure with regard to landed property, which kept them in constant vassalage to their chiefs, who were themselves subject to the same absurd system. The narrow, and it may be said, impracticable code of Brehon distribution of estate, required a perpetual recurrence to subdivision in the event of decease: hence arose endless confusion, litigation, and dispute, entailing mischievous habits on society, and serving to foster a disposition to acts of violence.

Property was in this manner continually changing masters. It was impossible that the state of society could materially improve, because there existed none of those exciting causes which force men in modern times into action in such various ways. Agriculture was confined to the mere supply of the occupant, or of those who manufactured arms or articles of clothing; in the latter particular, the country had attained considerable celebrity. The cultivation of the soil was limited *, both from the sim-

* Notwithstanding the splendid descriptions given by some warm-hearted writers concerning the ancient prosperity of Ireland, the above opinion will continue to be received as true, until proofs shall be given that Ireland had an export corn trade. The argument, that the country was better inhabited formerly than at present, is not sufficiently founded, even by the fact of vegetable soil being found with marks of cultivation on the sides of mountains now covered with bog. That tillage has been employed in those situations is undoubted; but may it not be asserted, that those places were made to produce corn for the support of people who had made choice of those elevated situations for defence or security? Were it not that there is less vegetable matter to supply or produce the growth of bogs now than in former times, such a phenomenon might be again witnessed by future antiquarians, should the desolating hand of war remove the persons whose industry is now seen covering other parts of those very same mountains with patches of cultivation.

plicity of the general mode of living, (their food consisting chiefly of the milk and flesh of their cattle, the hides being reserved principally as an article of traffic,) and their being inured to military exercises, in which the most active muscular exertion could alone secure superior distinction. Even their devotional exercises partook of their habitual temperance, of which circumstance old Campion bears witness; "the same being vertuously bred up," says he, "or reformed, are such mirrours of holinesse and austeritie, that other nations retaine but a shewe or shadow of devotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, which these days make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kind of chastisement."

The secular order of clergy existed at the same time as the monastic, but in a manner altogether different from what it has been known in after ages. Down to the beginning of the ninth century, the Irish church was governed by bishops, who, it appears, were in function little superior to the parochial clergy of the present day. The maintenance of the bishops, and their ecclesiastical officers, was entirely afforded by voluntary contribution, which was liberal and abundant beyond their wishes, of which they gave gratifying evidence by the manner in which they applied the revenue thus arising; namely, the whole was divided into four equal portions, of which one supplied the personal wants of the bishop; another, those of his clergy; a third was distributed among the poor, and the fourth was appropriated to the building and repair of churches. They possessed nothing in the way of tithe or territorial property: that was a provision made in later times.

The fact just stated is eminently proved in the character of Malachias, bishop of Armagh, who succeeded Celsus in that dignity, and who was a chief means of bringing about

a conformity of the Irish church with that of Rome, by a concession of supremacy to the latter; there being always between them a perfect unity of faith and discipline ever since the question concerning Easter had been adjusted. This prelate had distinguished himself by endeavouring to set aside the claims of hereditary succession then maintained in certain powerful septs, by whom all appointments to the wealthy abbacies were carried; and his mode of life was a convincing proof of his disinterestedness. The mortified character of this first rate enthusiast is thus portrayed by the historian of his life.

"From the day of his birth to the day of his death, he lived *sine proprio*, without claiming property in any thing; he had neither men servants nor maid servants, neither towns nor villages, neither any revenue ecclesiastical or temporal in his bishopric: for his provision, (*ad mensam episcopalem*,) he had no certainty allotted him, whereupon a bishop might live; he had no certain monastery or dwelling place, for he daily went about all the parishes, preaching the gospel, and living by the gospel, as the Lord had ordained, saying, The labourer is worthy of his reward. Of such as travelled with him, he carried about to relieve them all. To be short, Malachias, neither in diet or raiment, was discerned from the rest of the brethren; when he went a preaching with footmen, he went on foot, although a bishop and legate."

To this latter title it was owing that his countrymen, notwithstanding his extraordinary sanctity, were unwilling to receive his propositions with cordiality, from a rooted and universal dislike to every thing like foreign interference in their national concerns. The influence of the Roman pontiff was never admitted in Ireland beyond that of a spiritual supremacy, and that not even until the year 1111,

when, by the exertions of Malachias, the bishops in full convocation surrendered up to Rome the rights which they until then enjoyed.

At length, in the year 1152, a general council of the Irish clergy, summoned by Cardinal Paparon, legate *à latere*, was convened at Kells, where the supremacy of the Pope was solemnly recognized, and such arrangements agreed on, that all further opposition to th long-desired measure was for ever removed. Four palls were distributed, by apostolic authority, to four archbishops, whose sees were severally denominated, Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, each having its respective suffragans. The appointments to the sees thus determined were as follows: Gelasius superintended the concerns of Armagh, with the dignity of Primate; Gregory sat in Dublin, Donatus in Cashel, and Edanus in Tuam.

"Without cities, urbanity and civility cannot take place. In large communities only, the hardness and roughness of naked nature can be ground down and polished. It is from a frequent collision of many minds that those sparks of genius are struck out, which not only enlighten the understanding, but correct the heart, and furnish those innumerable embellishments of art, which give unspeakable charms to social intercourse, and, in some degree, exalt the dignity of human nature." So thought and wrote Dr. Campbell, Chancellor of St. Macartin's, Clogher, in 1790; so thinks and wishes every one, even now-a-days, who loves the good of mankind, and promotes its improvement, whether in the cloister or the tented field, the verdant valley or the cloud-capt castle, the joyous pasture or the crowded city. Without, however, waiting to ascertain whether the churches and monasteries in Ireland were

built of "wood, and wattles, and sods," or more permanent materials, let us observe, and with philosophical fidelity, so far as possible, note the occurrences which have rendered Ireland still an important subject for historic research.

CHAPTER II.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN IRELAND, FROM ITS INVASION BY HENRY II.

THE great synod of the Irish clergy, held at Kells, as just mentioned, in 1152, at which Cardinal Paparon assisted on the part of the Roman Pontiff, and three thousand clergy, with several princes and nobles on behalf of the church of Ireland, an entire union and communion in all things with the see of Rome was solemnly agreed on, and all circumstances seemed to confirm the idea that the internal tranquillity and general prosperity of the country was finally secured. Roderick O'Connor was then monarch of all Ireland, and about this time occurred one of those minor incidents which often decide the destinies of nations.

Dermod Mac Murrough, a rude and licentious prince, king of Leinster, had debauched the wife of O'Rourke, king of Breffni, and the injured prince claimed the protection of the monarch, demanding satisfaction for the outrage; his complaint was urged with manly dignity, and in a style of expression which argues the very respectable state of literary composition then in use. As the document is curious, its insertion here may be allowed.

" O'Rorcius, Lotherico monarcho, S.

" Etsi non sum nescius, (illustrissime princeps,) humanos casus quo semper animo ferendos, et hominis esse, virtutis prestantia excellentis, ob meretricis inconstantiam mutabili-

tatemque non effeminari; tamen tum atrocissimum hoc crimen, quod ad te, certè scio, prius omnium rumore, quam meis literis allatum est, ita sit hactenus in-auditum, ut ante hunc diem, non sit, nostra memoria, contra ullum (quod sciam) Hibernicum regem susceptum; severitas me jubet justitiæ concedere, quod caritas monet, vindicta recusare. Si dedecus spectes, hoc ad me unum fateor pertinet, si caussam consideres, en tibi mecum est communis. Qualem enim, in nostris hominibus, nobis regia dominatione devinctis, spem collocabimus, si mulierosus hic Mæchus, ac potius pudicitiæ expugnator, tanti sceleris impunitatem fuerit consecutus? Quippe, inulta principum flagitia (qui in omnium oculis habitant) perniciosam imitationem exempli populo prodere consuescunt. In summa; meam erga te voluntatem satis exploratam habes. Vides me fortunæ telis sauciatum, maximis incommodis adfectum, summis difficultatibus adflictum! Reliquum est cùm totus animo et studio sim tuus, ut injurias, quibus laceror, tam consilio togatus, quam auxilio armatus persequaris. Hoc cum velis, et ut velis, non solum à te postulo, verum etiam flagito. Vale."

For the convenience of those readers who may happen not to be conversant with the language of this interesting document, a translation is subjoined.*

* O'Rourke, to Roderic the monarch, greeting:

Although I am not ignorant, most illustrious prince, how a man ought to bear the misfortunes incident to life, and that a virtuous man should not debase his character by lamenting the inconstancy and fickleness of a wanton, yet as this most outrageous crime, which report, I am certain, much sooner than my letter, has carried to your ears, so unheard of heretofore, has never, until this day, so far as I know, been perpetrated against any Irish king, severity compels me to that just vengeance which charity would forbid. If you reflect on this disgrace, I confess it is entirely my own; but if you judge of the cause, it is common to us both. What reliance can we place on those submitted to our royal

The appeal to the monarch brought the required support, and the royal delinquent was solemnly deposed, and expelled the kingdom with disgrace. In this emergency, he applied to Henry II., then engaged in a war with France, which kept him so employed, that he could not afford the exiled king the auxiliaries he sought to enable him to regain his lost possessions. The crime, moreover, which had caused Dermod's expulsion, rendered him so infamous, that his life was forfeited for the offence, according to an ancient law, enacted in the time of Ollam Fodhla; he therefore had no chance of being restored, except through foreign aid. The following sketch of this prince's appearance is thus given from Cambrensis.

"Dermod Mac Murrogh was a man tall of stature, and of a large and great body; a valiant and a bold warrior in his nation; and by reason of his continual hallooing and crying, his voice was hoarse; he rather chose and desired to be feared than loved; a great oppressor of his nobility, but a great advancer of the poor and weak. To his own people he was rough and grievous, and hateful unto strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against him."

Henry would gladly have availed himself of the opportunity afforded him by Dermod's application and offer of fealty,

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authority, if this lascivious adulterer, or rather this demolisher of chastity, obtain impunity of this signal guilt? The flagitiousness of princes, if left unpunished, because they stand conspicuous to mankind, is certain of leaving a pernicious example to the people. You see me wounded with the shafts of fortune, injured by the deepest wrongs, afflicted with the sorest embarrasment. It remains, then, as you are assured of my devotion to your interests, for you to support me with your counsel, and with your sword help me to avenge the sorrows that wring my soul. This when you will, and as you will, I not only ask, but demand of you. Farewell.

to revenge himself for the depredations which had been committed by the decendants of the Danes who had settlements on the coast of Leinster, whence they frequently issued with some Irish auxiliaries for the purposes of plunder, to the great annoyance of their English neighbours. But as the pressure of his affairs in Normandy required all his immediate means, the English monarch could only give his consent that the Irish king should endeavour to obtain assistance from the people of England, leaving him at liberty to use such inducements as he pleased for that purpose. The following is a copy of the instrument legalizing Dermod's application to Henry's subjects.

"Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, earl of Anjou, &c., unto all his subjects, English, Normans, Welsh, and Scots, and to all nations and people, being his subjects, greeting:

"Whereas Dermod, king of Leinster, most wrongfully (as he informeth) banished out of his own country, hath craved our aid; therefore, forasmuch as we have received him into our protection, grace and favour, whoever within our realms, subject unto our command, will aid and help him, whom we have embraced as our trusty friend, for the recovery of his land, let him be assured of our grace and favour."

The ambitious views of Henry had been directed to Ireland long previous to the time of Dermod's expulsion, and the acquisition of that island to his English dominions appears to have engaged much of his secret purpose; the power and influence of the clergy which then prevailed throughout Christendom, and was paramount in Ireland, kept him in awe, and prevented an open avowal of his designs. The late convention of the Irish churches with that of Rome, was a further bar to his hopes; but on the death

of the pope, under whose auspices the union had been effected, his successor appeared a proper person to favour his project.

Nicholas Breakspear, a low-born Englishman, had raised himself to the cardinalate of Albano, and in 1154, the year in which Henry came to the crown, was elected pope, under the title of Adrian the fourth. The causes that influenced his holiness to evince his attachment to the English king, by promoting his designs upon Ireland, have never been fully explained; but it would appear not remote from truth to assert, that the steps taken to induce the Irish clergy to acknowledge the pope's supremacy, were made preliminary to the unjust transfer of their country's independence; at least, that Henry took advantage of that circumstance to carry his design into execution.

John of Salisbury, the king's chaplain, furnished with secret powers, made application to the pope, and not without success: for his holiness, with an arrogance which set at defiance every principle of justice, and the law of nations, usurping the authority of temporal dominion over Ireland, gave a bull to that effect, empowering Henry to take possession of that country made over to him by virtue of this iniquitous compact. The pretensions set forth in that extraordinary instrument may be best seen in the bull itself: the following copy will prove, that the "barbarous" Irish could write better latin, and express more elegantly the sentiments of virtuous minds, (as was seen in the letter of O'Rourke) than the Roman pontiff.

> "Adrianus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio, illustri Anglorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.
>
> "Laudabiliter et satis fructuosè de glorioso nomine propagando in terris, et eternæ felicitatis præmio cumulando in

cœlis tua magnificentia cogitat, dum ad dilatandos ecclesiæ terminos, ad declarandam indoctis et rudibus populis Christianæ fidei veritatem et vitiorum plantaria de agro dominico extirpanda, sicut catholicus princeps intendis, et ad id convenientius exequendum, consilium apostolicæ sedis exigis, et favorem, in quo facto quanto altiore consilio, et majori discretione procedis, tanto in eo feliciorem progressum te (præstante domino) confidimus habiturum, eo quod ad bonum exitum semper et finem solent attingere, quæ de ardore fidei et religionis amore principium acceperunt. Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas, quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri, et sacro-sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere, unde tanto in iis libentius plantationem fidelem, et germen gratum Deo inserimus, quanto id à nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus exigendum significasti quidem nobis (fili in Christo carissime) te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum populum legibus, et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda, velle intrare, et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii, beato Petro velle solvere pensionem, et jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata, et integra conservare: nos itaque pium et laudabile desiderium tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuæ benignum impendentes assensum gratum et acceptum habemus, ut (pro dilatandis ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum restringendo decursu, pro corrigendis moribus, et virtutibus inserendis, pro religionis Christianæ augmento) insulam illam ingrediaris et quæ ad honorem Dei, et salutem illius terræ spectaverint exequaris; et illius terræ populus honorificè te recipiat, et sicut dominum veneretur; jure nimirum ecclesiarum illibato, et integro permanente, et salvâ beato Petro, et sacro-sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ de singulis domibus annuâ

unius denarii pensione. Si ergo quod concepisti animo, effectu duxeris prosequente compendium, stude gentem illam bonis moribus informare; et agas (tam per te quam per illos quos ad hoc fide, verbo, et vitâ idoneos esse perspexeris) ut decoretur ibi ecclesia, plantetur et crescat fidei Christianæ religio, et ad honorem Dei et salutem pertinet animarum, per te aliter ordinentur ut a Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi merearis, et in terris gloriosum nomeu valeas in sæculis obtinere. Datum Romæ, anno salutis, 1156."

In the annexed translation, the English reader will view, with no less surprise than indignation, the indecorous import of that monstrous instrument. In order the better to gloss over its manifest violation of human rights, a confirmation of its provisions was promulgated about sixteen years afterwards by Adrian's successor: the latter is couched in the following terms:—

> " Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio, illustri Anglorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

" Quoniam ea quæ a predecessoribus nostris rationabiliter indulta noscuntur, perpetua merentur stabilitate firmari; venerabilis Adriani papæ vestigiis inhærentes, nostrique desiderii fructum attendentes concessionem ejusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto (salva beato Petro et sacro-sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, sicut in Angliâ sic etiam in Hiberniâ, de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione) ratam habemus et confirmamus, quatenus *eliminatis terræ ipsius spurcitiis, barbara natio, quæ Christiano censetur nomine, vestrâ indulgentiâ morum induat venustatem, et redacta in formam hactenus informi finium illorum ecclesiâ gens ea per vos Christianæ professionis*

nomen cum effectu de cetero consequatur. Datum Romæ, an. sal. 1172." *

* " Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolic benediction :

" Praiseworthily and profitably doth your magnificence purpose, by spreading abroad your name with glory in the earth, and heaping up a reward of eternal happiness in heaven, whilst, as a Catholic prince, you intend to widen the boundaries of the church, to declare the truth of the Christian faith to the ignorant and rude, and to extirpate the roots of vice from the field of the Lord, and for the more fitly accomplishing this end, you require the counsel and favour of the Apostolic See; wherein with how much the greater caution and discretion you proceed, by so much the more certain success (with God's help) we trust you will have; because all things which take their beginning from the ardour of faith, and the love of religion, are wont to attain a prosperous result and completion. Undoubtedly, Ireland, and all the islands upon which Christ, the Sun of justice has shone, and which have received the doctrine of the Christian faith, do of right belong to St. Peter and the holy Roman church, (which also your highness doth acknowledge;) therefore we the more willingly impart to them the plantation of faith, and the seed pleasing to God, because, from internal conviction, we foresee that the same will be strictly required of us. You have signified to us, (most beloved son in Christ), that you wish to enter into the island of Ireland, to bring that people under law, and to extirpate thence the roots of vice; and that you are willing to pay to St. Peter a yearly tribute of one penny from each house, and to preserve the rights of the churches in that land inviolate and entire: we, therefore, with suitable favour, joining your pious and laudable desire, and giving our gracious assent to your petition, do hold it pleasing and acceptable that (for extending the limits of the church, for restraining the progress of vice, for correcting morals and implanting virtue, for the increase of the Christian religion) you enter into that island, and execute those things which tend to the honour of God, and salvation of that land; and that the people of that land may receive you with all due honour, and reverence you as the Lord, the right of the churches remaining perfectly inviolate and entire; and the yearly tribute of one penny from each house being reserved to Saint Peter and the holy Roman church. If, then, you do purpose to carry into effect the object you have conceived in your mind, study to reform that nation

On reflecting upon the terms of Adrian's decree, and its confirmation by pope Alexander, it appears not unreasonable, that both should have been considered fabrications; and, indeed, both bear internal and very strong evidence that such was the case; yet a more convincing proof that either they were forgeries, or, which is tantamount, that Henry looked upon them as matters unworthy of serious regard is, that the former lay over during the interval of its writing and confirmation, and even then they were used in a manner almost pacific, as will be seen hereafter. With regard, however, to the justice of the case, it may be

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with better customs, and so act (both by yourself, and by those whom you shall know to be meet by their faith, words, and life) that the church there may be embellished, and the religion of the Christian faith be planted and grow up, and those things which concern the honour of God and the salvation of souls, may be so otherwise ordered, that you may merit to obtain from God the abundance of everlasting reward, and be able to secure in this world a glorious renown for ever. Given at Rome, in the year of salvation, 1156."

Translation of the Confirmatory Bull.

" Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolic benediction:

" Because those things which are known to have been wisely granted by our predecessors ought to be confirmed in perpetual holding, following in the footsteps of the venerable pope Adrian, and considering that our desires fully accord with the grant of dominion over Ireland made by him to you, We do ratify and confirm the same (reserving to St. Peter and to the holy Roman church the tribute of one penny from each house, as it is in England so to be in Ireland,) provided that, the abominations of the land being put away, that barbarous nation, which is considered christian only in name, may by your kind treatment assume more polite manners, and, their hitherto disorderly church being reduced into orderly form, that people may, through you, effectually obtain henceforth the reputation of the christian profession.

" Given at Rome, in the year of salvation, 1172."

observed, that a more shameless usurpation was never attempted than that which would allow the pope the right of giving away independent and sovereign states at will; and never was pretence more ridiculous or futile than those on which such usurpation was attempted to be grounded. How would Englishmen of the present day endure, that a dreaming bigot should presume to make the British monarch a vassal to a foreign dominion?

Although provided with letters-patent from the King of England, the endeavours of Dermod were ineffectual to raise the desired aid: in vain did he hold out the most flattering promises to induce numbers to join his cause; he was at length obliged to have recourse to the Welsh princes, who had been lately in arms in defence of their independence, and whose military ardour had not yet subsided. They were, moreover, preparing to make another effort to throw off the English yoke, and one of the principal chieftains, Robert Fitzstephens, was then actually in confinement to prevent the attempt.

Mac Murrogh, therefore, applied to Richard, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Strigul, Pembroke, and Chepstow, who readily entered into his views; and, on promise of receiving in marriage Eva, daughter of Dermod, and succeeding to the kingdom of Leinster after his decease, engaged to go over into Ireland the ensuing spring. This compact between Dermod and Strongbow was futile in point of right, as the succession could not be so guaranteed, as Mac Murrogh was aware, by the laws of Ireland; so that the banished prince must in that case have deceived his new ally, or finally determined by this detestable treason to risk the chance of arms, and without remorse, involve his guileless and guiltless country in the horrors of a foreign war.

In the progress of the negotiations with the Earl of Pembroke, Mac Murrogh procured the enlargement of Fitzstephens, and engaged him and his half-brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, to support his pretensions, having entered into an agreement, that, in the event of success, he should bestow upon them the town of Wexford and two cantreds of land adjoining. With these slender hopes of assistance he lay concealed in the mountains of Wales for some time, the better to disguise his designs; and of his behaviour there, Giraldus Cambrensis, bishop of St. David's, who knew him personally, gives the following account: "languishing and lying for a passage, he comforted himself as well as he might; some time drawing, and, as it were, breathing the air of his country, which he seemed to snuff and smell; sometimes viewing and beholding his native hills, which in a fair day a man may easily descry."

After sometime spent in this retreat he got over privately to the monastery of Ferns, which he had founded, and there was soon discovered by his enemy O'Rourke, in consequence of the active measures he was taking to interest some of his countrymen in his cause; but on making submission to the monarch, and satisfaction to the injured O'Rourke, he was permitted to remain, upon giving his son as a hostage for his good conduct, and a considerable territory was assigned for his support. Here he quietly waited the arrival of his Welsh auxiliaries, whom he urged to come to his immediate assistance.

Accordingly in the spring of the year 1170, Robert Fitzstephens landed with other chiefs, and 600 troops, who were joined by a considerable force under the command of Donald, the son of Dermod, and that prince soon after met them in person. Wexford fell shortly into the hands of the merciless invaders, who were thus put in possession of

the territory which Mac Murrogh had promised. The king's engagement to the Earl of Pembroke was soon after fulfilled in like manner; for, having arrived, and carried Waterford by repeated assaults, he was immediately married to Eva, and then declared by Dermod, roi-damnah, or presumptive heir to the crown of Leinster, pursuant to the terms of the previous treaty. The Irish monarch having been apprized of the events at Wexford, expostulated on the injustice of the invasion, but to no avail; and indignant at the base proceedings of Mac Murrogh, put his son with his fellow hostages to death. The unfortunate Dermod was determined to dethrone the Irish monarch, to which he was strongly encouraged by his unexpected successes, but he became afflicted with a lingering and odious distemper, and died miserably the following year in the monastery of Ferns.

Strongbow's title to the crown, with its dependencies, now afforded him sufficient pretence to push his successes, and he directly marched to Dublin to enforce his alleged right. Here he was more effectually opposed by the courageous Lawrence O'Toole, the archbishop, than even by the monarch of the island, who made an ineffectual show of resistance, his efforts being disabled by the dissensions then prevailing among the Irish princes, — an evil which perpetually operated against their common interests, and eventually led to their individual suppression.

Henry, whose jealousy had been excited by the successes of the Welsh chieftains, dreading that their power thus augmented might be directed to the recovery of their native independence, and perhaps to his detriment as king of England, issued a proclamation recalling all his subjects out of Ireland, on pain of forfeiture of their estates. This denunciation was evaded by Pembroke's surrendering his

Irish acquisitions into the king's hands, and holding them as his subject; and for that purpose he repaired to England to make his submission in person. The murder of Becket had so alarmed Henry, on account of the odium in which it was every where viewed, and which had brought on him all the thunders of the church, then too terrible to be resisted, that he was easily reconciled to the Earl of Pembroke, and settled upon him, in form, the possessions he had lately acquired; and shortly after accompanied that nobleman to Ireland.

Had the policy of Henry been more open and decided, the progress of his arms would have been attended with many beneficial results, both to those subject to his authority, and to the people whom he sought to govern. A desultory and ineffectual warfare, conducted by scanty means on one side, and marred by disunion on the other, excited in both a barbarous and unquenchable hostility which neither could gratify, and which even the presence of Henry could not assuage. The princes of the country, wearied with constant broils amongst themselves to such a degree, eagerly seized the opportunity of cultivating their separate interests; and on Henry's arrival, which took place on the 18th of October, 1172, many of them, particularly those of the south, hastened to avail themselves of his interference against the authority of the monarch.

The force with which Henry was attended on that occasion consisted of 400 knights and 4,000 inferior soldiers: but it would seem that this display of military force was merely intended to gain respect rather than to compel the Irish to acknowledge his claim to sovereignty in the island, as founded on the pope's decree; for having accepted the submissions of several of the native princes, his first concern was to have a convocation of the clergy held as soon as

possible, as he knew that must essentially promote the objects he had in view. Roderic, the monarch, whose authority was still respected, had withdrawn his forces to the Shannon, and set the invaders at defiance; whilst O'Neal, king of Ulster, following the example of his superior, declined submission, and stood in such formidable array at the head of the hardy Gael, that the cautious Henry was unwilling to hazard any engagement with those princes.

His whole attention was, therefore, directed to negotiation with the gownsmen, who were more likely to prove tractable, as being more directly under the influence of the holy see; he, therefore, summoned a synod at Cashel, which was numerous and splendid. Several of the southern princes attended, and so far the proceedings appeared to have the countenance of the legitimate authorities. But, it being found impossible to obtain the sanction of Gelasius, the primate, or to induce that patriotic priest to recognize foreign interference in the affairs of Ireland, Christian, an Italian legate, bishop of Lismore, a dignity to which he had been elected, it appears, for that purpose, was called to preside, although the archbishops of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught were present.

In this motley assemblage, composed of a foreign prince with his English and Welsh soldiers, and an unwilling clergy with dissembling chieftains, did Henry produce the bull of Adrian, backed by the confirmation of Alexander; to both which, acceptance was given with a facility highly suspicious as to its sincerity; and several resolutions were passed, by which the churches of Ireland and England were declared in conformity with that of Rome. As such a declaration was evidently superfluous, after the solemn compact made at Kells in 1152, it can be considered only as an insidious mode of cementing the union of civil rights

between the two nations. At this crisis Henry was called away by the fears of rebellion among his own sons, and also on the summons of two cardinals, who were waiting in Normandy, to investigate the murder of Becket; and thus ended his memorable expedition, which a few years afterwards was followed by the submission of Roderick O'Connor, and the extinction of the Irish monarchy.

The offers of submission and fealty on the part of the southern chieftains were as hollow and insincere, as they were fraught with national calamity and personal degradation to themselves; and, in fact, the inauspicious visit of the English monarch, although it obtained for him a nominal dominion of a part of the island, by no means secured a permanent possession; and of this there is memorable evidence in the words of Sir John Davies, in "a discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, and brought under obedience of the crown of England, until the beginning of the reign of James I." wherein he says; "and so, being advertised of some stirs raised by his unnatural sons in England, within five months after his arrival, he departed out of Ireland without striking one blow, or building one castle, or planting one garrison among the Irish: *neither left he behind him one true subject more than those he found there at his coming over*, which were only the English adventurers spoken of before, who had gained the port-towns in Leinster and Munster, and possessed some scopes of land thereunto adjoining, partly by Strongbow's alliance with the lord of Leinster, and partly by plain invasion and conquest."

After Henry's departure, the adventurers hedged themselves into a small territory, called the *pale*, where the laws and customs with which they were used to be governed at home still continued to regulate their concerns; but many

Irish septs remained undisturbed in their possessions, ruled entirely by their ancient laws and institutions. The late innovation upon the independence of the country had excited but a momentary alarm among the Irish chieftains, but still served to keep alive that repulsive hostility which manifested itself on every future interference of England in their affairs spiritual and temporal; and however opposed to each other in domestic rivalry, they seem to have cherished the remembrance of those late occurrences as a common and uniform ground of dislike to strangers.

The little colony within the pale, instead of becoming formidable to the natives by superior policy or arts, fell daily into disrepute, bordering on contempt, from paucity of numbers, and preserved itself from the irruptions of the surrounding tribes, merely by superior discipline. The disunion and perpetual hostilities of the Irish chieftains among themselves was a further source of protection; and this circumstance, once thoroughly discovered, became ever afterwards a ground of hope for the palists; not only to extend themselves more at ease, but for subsequent aggression, by artfully making those princes the means of mutual destruction.

Had Henry pushed his policy with greater energy at the time of his visit, and, taking advantage of the impression then made upon the minds of the people, traversed the island with a strong military force, and established the English laws, even such as they were, at once, instead of temporizing with the clergy as he did, there is great reason to think that little, if any, of that wasteful slaughter, which afterwards devastated the country and perpetuated its feuds, would have ensued.

What a woful picture of overwrought malice defeating its own ends; of low-born ambition usurping the vices

which it would efface; of cringing monopoly, and towering baseness, contending in mutual meanness; of obscure murders, illuminated only by the flashes of the falchion, or the blaze of the faggot, might be exhibited in illustration of that lamentable error! Such is not the object of this work; a purpose much more gratifying is in view, — by tracing the faults of generations long gone by to improve the condition of the present, and secure the happiness, if possible, and the welfare of the future.

The crude and helpless state in which Henry left the colony was but little improved by the appointment of Strongbow, as deputy of the king, over the places subject to his jurisdiction; nor were the successors of that Earl wise enough to benefit by his prudent example, to endeavour to subjugate by alliance; so that it became necessary to fetch constant reinforcements from England to supply the waste of their troops in those petty expeditions. This practice met with so many obstructions that necessity at length compelled many of the English barons to adopt the plan of Strongbow, and by intermarriages with the native families secured a footing in the island, which they could not otherwise have done. But these new alliances became in time the cause of serious calamity to the country, when their descendants began to quarrel about the spoil.

Whatever advantages had been gained by the English settlers in Ireland during the lifetime of Henry, and his son Richard, were nearly lost to them by the imprudence of John, who, visiting the country with the title of Lord of Ireland, conferred on him by his father, treated the Irish princes who were inclined to support his pretensions with such levity that a general combination of the natives was the consequence, and the annihilation of all the flattering hopes of the colony was seriously threatened. This

event, however, was avoided by the valour and address of the English lords. In a subsequent visit John showed a determination to carry full obedience by force, for which purpose he came attended with a considerable army, but his expedition produced nothing in the way of securing even the remotest resemblance of conquest: the establishment of courts of justice in Dublin, the division of the pale into counties, and the building of some castles and forts, mark the extent of his exploits in Ireland: he did not deserve to acquire a new kingdom who had the weakness to give away his own.

In the succeeding reigns of Henry IV. and Edward I. the colonists continued their aggressions with various success. The Irish septs living within the pale, treated with barbarous severity, and divided between the institutes of two irreconcilable systems, preferred the adoption of the English laws, as tending most to the security of property: seeing their situation helpless, they sought the protection of the English monarch, and offered a sum of money equal to eighty thousand pounds of present currency. The offer was too tempting, and the proposal of such addition to the subjects of the crown too consistent with rational policy to be rejected, and Edward recommended it very strongly to the lords and gentry of the pale for their immediate acceptance; but they, strong in prejudice as well as possession, absolutely refused to comply. The English Justinian, as Edward was called, knew the importance of the appeal to his justice, and commanded the lords to assemble in a sort of parliament, and deliberate upon the matter. The order was complied with, but the application was finally refused. Thus was overthrown the first offer to conciliation and friendly intercourse between the colonists and native Irish, and this unwise return for

their generosity kindled new resentments, and engendered irreconcilable aversion to their ruthless oppressors.

The effects of this impolicy were soon severely felt. The English lords had acquired such vast possessions that they considered themselves independent of all authority, and each of ten great families exercised a sovereign right in the respective territories; but this soon produced a rivalry, little indeed to be regretted if it concerned only themselves, yet of miserable consequences to the native population who were the unwilling supporters of each, and were equally the sufferers whichever side prevailed. So powerful had these family interests become that they not unfrequently met the royal authority, which was administered by deputy, with disobedience and open contempt. The family of Fitzgerald deriving possession directly from Strongbow, exercised princely dominion by right of inheritance from Dermod Mac Murrogh, whilst the Ormond family, (descendants of Butler, to whom, as being a relative of Becket's, Henry II. had granted enormous estates in Ireland as a reparation for the death of his relative,) opposed the former with full force frequently in the field. Spenser thus depicts the state of the English government in Ireland as conducted by deputy.

"It was for the most part such as did more hurt than good; for they had commonly out of the two families of the Geraldines and Butlers, both adversaries and corrivales one against the other; who, though for the most part they were but deputies under some of the king's of England's sonnes, brethren, or other neare kinsmen, who were the king's lieutenants, yet they swayed so much as they had all the rule, and the others but the title. Of which Butlers and Geraldines albeit there were very brave and worthy men, as also of other peeres of that realme, made

lords deputies, and lords justices, at sundry times, yet thorough greatness of their late conquests and seignories they grew insolent, and bent both that regall authority, and also their private powers, one against another, to the utter subversion of themselves, and strengthening of the Irish againe. This you may read plainly discovered by a letter written from the citizens of Cork out of Ireland, and remaining yet upon record, both in the tower of London, and also among the chronicles of Ireland; wherein it is by them complained, that the English lords and gentlemen, who then had great possessions in Ireland, began, through pride and insolency, to make private wars one against another, and when either part was weak, *they would wage, and draw in the Irish to take their part;* by which means they both greatly encouraged and enabled the Irish, (which till that time had been shut up within the mountains,) and weakened and disabled themselves, insomuch that their revenues were wonderfully impaired."

This unfortunate state of misrule is further displayed in the same writer's view of the state of Ireland. "*The governors,*" says he, "*usually are envious of one another's greater glory, which if they would seek to excel by better government, it should be a most laudable emulation. But they doe quite otherwise. For this is the common order of them, that who cometh next in place, will not follow that course of government, however good, which his predecessors held, either for disdane of himself, or doubt to have his doings drowned in another man's praise, but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former: as if the former thought (by keeping under the Irish) to reforme them: the next, by discountenancing the English, will curry favour with the Irish, and so make his government seem plausible, as having the Irish at his command: but he that comes after, will per-*

happes follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort, as he will sucke sweet out of them both, and leave bitternesse to the poor country, which if he that comes after shall seeke to redresse, he shall perhappes find such crosses, as he shall be hardly able to bear, or doe any good that might work the disgrace of his predecessors."

Here is a lamentable yet accurate picture of the country; for, whilst the colonists were harrassed by the contending interests of their governors, the natives were not less distracted amongst the feuds of their chiefs*; both, the victims of petty and inordinate ambition, were prohibited from making those advances in civilization and moral order which the natural advantages of the island so largely invited. The immediate effects of this vicious and futile mode of government were, the degradation of the various ranks of society, or more properly speaking, the disruption and disregard of all social ties,—the sword alone, with its conclusive arguments, settling every difference; and brutal selfishness, or ferocious slaughter assumed the prerogatives of reason.

England was rapidly rising on the scale of refinement, whilst unhappy Ireland was sinking into the gloom of barbarism, scarcely even a trace of her ancient elevated character being left. Every where distrust produced disunion; the very apprehension of treachery excited feelings of hostility, easily kindled into open acts of violence, on the slightest occasions of fancied or real wrong; chaotic anarchy ministered to by suspicion, cupidity, and ingratitude, called into action the worst passions of the human breast; and such among the multitude as had philosophy enough to look upon the frightful scene, found relief in the apathy of despair.

* Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.

In such confusion and universal degeneracy it could not be expected that the interests of religion were much attended to; far otherwise; for the grand struggle to acquire property on the one side, and to protect it from rapacity on the other, made all in a great measure unmindful of those peaceful principles which would inculcate moderation and mutual forbearance. So agitated was the pale, and so miserably small was the ecclesiastical revenue within the places under English jurisdiction, that few clergy of respectable English birth could be found willing to accept of any appointment in Ireland; so that in progress of time the state of church discipline was so fallen away that there remained little hope of increasing the number of the saints, as was anticipated by the bull of Adrian. The most part of such English as resorted thither of themselves, were either unlearned, or men of bad note, for which they had forsaken their own country.

The influence of the crown, it is true, continued to effect the appointment of Englishmen of family and education to the sees of Armagh and Dublin; and their authority as well as that of the other archbishops, was universally acknowledged and submitted to; but the old system of domestic election was uniformly observed with regard to the inferior clergy. Still, however, the tumultuous state of public affairs deprived the concerns of the church of that equable and calm character which ought to correspond with the exalted ends of its establishment.

Thus far our inquiry has embraced the most prominent points in the history of this interesting island; from which it is evident that the principal evils arose out of the feeble or corrupt modes of its government, from the moment it came within the influence of English dominion. The various efforts to establish a paramount authority in favour

of the colony became ineffectual or injurious, and that failure was the more remarkable as the revolutions at the same time going on in England were violent or relaxed; until at length the palists appear to have blended with the people they came to subdue, in a kind of intermediate union, in various gradation, between the condition of liege subjects to the parent government, and natural enemies to its authority; nay more, the depression of the pale became so great, that its inhabitants were so far reduced as to pay a tribute, called the *black rent*, to certain of the native princes who had taken them, under protection against every other aggression: and this tribute, annually drawn out of England, was enforced by arms whenever it was neglected to be paid.

The conflicting interests which kept the settlers at perpetual variance, gave rise to disgraceful quarrels among them, in which they distinguished one another as *English by birth*, and *English by blood*, and materially increased the calamities of the colony. By an extraordinary and unwarrantable stretch of arbitrary power, all the old grants of land were resumed to the crown, and all persons were declared to be unqualified to hold offices in Ireland, except *those possessed of property in England;* and every "mere Irishman"* was excluded from every office or place of trust in any city, borough, or castle, in the king's land, and from every ecclesiastical benefice or religious house under his majesty's dominion, on any pretence whatsoever. Thus did this contemptible policy shut out the native Irish who lived under English jurisdiction, from the least share in the benefit of English laws: insulted the colonists who had already made great sacrifices to maintain

* To kill a "mere Irishman" in time of peace was not considered felony.

their acquisitions; invited fresh incentives to the agitations already in excess, and brought the whole country into the most deplorable condition.

Under these circumstances, the degenerate, distracted, and barbarous state of the aboriginal Irish alone preserved the English authority from annihilation. Then had the government of England a glorious opportunity of consolidating its strength by incorporating ALL THE PEOPLE of the island under the same system of law: the genius of the Irish is naturally prone to love justice, and none are more amenable to its impartial administration: the spirit of the English laws would undoubtedly have been reverenced in preference to the arbitrary dispensations with which they were visited, upon the dismemberment of their ancient inheritance. Instead of that, they were declared enemies, in the most unnatural manner *; intercourse was forbidden,

* "This then I note as a great defect in the civil policy of this kingdom; in that for the space of three hundred and fifty years at least, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same: for as long as they were out of the protection of the law, so as *every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them without controul*, how was it possible they should be other than enemies to the crown of England? If the king would not admit them to the condition of subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign? when they might not commerce nor converse with any civil man, nor enter into any town or city, without peril of their lives, whither should they fly but into the woods and mountains, and there live in a wild and barbarous manner? If the English magistrates would not rule them by the law which doth punish treason, and murder, and theft with death, but leave them to be ruled by their own lords and laws, why should they not embrace their own Brehon law which punisheth no offence but with a fine or *erick*? If the Irish be not permitted to purchase estates of freeholds or inheritance, which might descend to their children, according to the course of our common law, must they not continue their custom of tanistry? which makes all their possessions uncertain, and

and conciliation in every way precluded; whilst, by the most unaccountable malversation, their uninvaded property was cantoned out as destined spoil, whenever a favourable opportunity should encourage aggression.

The characteristic apathy or indolence of the Irish surrounding the pale kept them in a state of inaction; whilst their chiefs, fancying themselves at the height of superiority over the invaders, because they were receiving a petty consideration for abstaining from hostilities; or, perhaps, as more consistent with their naturally generous character, thinking that nothing more was to be apprehended from men so humbled and reduced, disdained to offer further molestation. Thus all lay in a general, but dangerous state of tranquillity;—wakeful cupidity of conquest on one side, and vengeful, imprudent impetuosity on the other, ever ready to burst forth on the slightest collision.

Whilst England was torn by the White and Red Rose factions, the people of Ireland remained but little affected by the contest, except so far as some of the lords of the pale were drawn to support the competitors, as family connections claimed their assistance: in these efforts the rival families of the Geraldines and Butlers were most active in furnishing contributions, alternately assuming superiority in Ireland, according to the various turns of fortune experienced by the Plantagenets or Tudors. Even after the accession of Henry VII. destructive animosities still

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brings confusion, barbarism, and incivility. In a word, if the English would neither in peace govern them by the law, nor could in war root them out by the sword, must they not needs be pricks in their eyes, and thorns in their sides, till the world's end?"—Sir John Davies's Discovery.

continued, and political intrigue ran to such excess that more than one spurious competitor was raised up for the purpose of disputing the king's right to the throne.

The superior prudence and severity of Henry easily put down those idle attempts; he wisely pardoned his opponents, and resolved to manage the affairs of Ireland rather by policy than force. For that purpose the office of deputy was conferred on Sir Edward Poynings, whose legislative enactments in the little parliament at Drogheda so effectually circumscribed the influence of the Irish lords, that they could no longer make laws for Ireland without having the previous sanction of the English government. This famous enactment, emphatically called Poynings' Law, was at first hailed with joy by the gentry of the pale, who were exhausted and wearied by the arbitrary proceedings of the lords; but it afterwards became injurious to future parliaments in Ireland, and produced some of the most memorable events in the history of the country.

Henry VIII. came to the throne of England with great advantages, as he united in his person the rival interests which had so long distracted his country; but he was of an age unfit for immediate benefit to either England or Ireland. For several years after his accession the Geraldines and Butlers carried on their disputes with unabated vigour, and the colony became alarmed for its existence. A powerful party was formed, who resolved to lay before the king, through his minister Wolsey, the true state of their circumstances. "In the various matters of this address is a complaint against the too frequent change of governors; the enormous jurisdiction granted to barons; the banishment of English freeholders by intolerable exactions, and the introduction of an Irish rabble into their places, at once the fittest objects and instruments of op-

pression; and the degraded condition of the colony, in which the English laws, manners, habit, and language, were confined within the narrow compass of twenty miles."

This appeal drew Henry's attention to the affairs of Ireland, and the Lord Leonard Grey was sent over with full powers to settle the kingdom. The proceedings of this nobleman soon restored confidence to the colonists, and the parliament was encouraged to pass laws in conformity with the views of the king, which were now directed to the great work of reformation: many of the Irish chieftains also were reconciled to submission, the more readily because their pride was soothed by Henry's assuming (shortly after, 33 Henry VIII.) the title of *king of Ireland*, such was their hereditary reverence for royal authority.

"This preparation being made," says Sir John Davies, "he (the deputy) first propounded and passed in parliament those laws which made the great alteration in the state ecclesiastical, namely, the act which declared King Henry the Eighth to be supreme head of the church of Ireland; the act prohibiting appeals to the church of Rome; the act for first fruits and twentieth part to be paid to the king; the act for faculties and dispensations; and, lastly, the act that did utterly abolish the usurped authority of the Pope. Next, for the increase of the king's revenue, by one act he suppressed sundry abbies and religious houses; and by another act resumed the lands of the absentees. And, for the civil government, a special statute was made, to abolish the *black-rents* and tributes exacted by the Irish from the English colonists; and another law enacted, that the English apparel, language, and manner of living, should be used by all such as would acknowledge themselves the king's subjects."

The greater part of the above laws, passed in the twenty-eighth of the king, were rather specious than effective, as the king's authority had scarcely any influence whatever beyond the reduced limits of the pale; and although several of the Irish princes, such as O'Neal of Ulster, and O'Brien of Munster, &c. accepted English titles from Henry, at the instance of the deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, they still held themselves absolute in their several territories, and independent of the crown, except so far as regarded mere submission in appearance. The suppression of the monasteries gave Henry what he found more immediately useful; and he felt the less concern about fixing the civil administration of the kingdom upon a permanent footing, and, therefore, the application of the Irish to be admitted to the benefit of the English laws was again treated with indifference.

Hitherto Ireland had known nothing but the ordinary calamities attendant upon a warfare, chequered only with the common passions of men, arrogant, ignorant, and domineering, whilst successful in their pursuit of plunder, and of others learning the vices of their oppressors, and their means of annoyance to retaliate the injuries of which they felt the severity; nor had a struggle of four centuries of mutually barbarous and sanguinary continuance, brought either to a sense of the miseries which their dissensions produced: henceforth, the hostile principle assumed a new character of acerbity from the progress of religious discord, which, unhappily for the general quiet, was now first introduced with the acts of Henry VIII.

Commissioners had been appointed to induce the clergy and people of Ireland to conform to the principles of the Reformation, as it was established in England; but this was strenuously opposed by the primate, Cromer, whose

exertions effectually obstructed the progress of the intended change in spiritual matters, although supported by all the authority and armed interference of the government. To cause the renunciation of the Pope's authority, with regard to the unwilling boon of supremacy, was not difficult, because the Irish never cordially assented to that measure; nor was its transfer to the English monarch quite objectionable, as it was considered to refer to temporals only; but the attempt to induce them to abjure the religion of their ancestors, which they prized beyond all worldly good, was looked upon with abhorrence.

The feelings which had consoled the Irish under all the distress and oppression already heaped upon them, became nothing, in comparison of the evils they apprehended from innovation in religious doctrines; the extravagant zeal, moreover, of the persons who were engaged in propagating the new creed, served to alarm them still more; and the more prudent saw with concern the images and relics of ancient ceremony exposed to sale without decency or reserve, and the hallowed monuments of their saints destroyed with Vandalic fury, and even the venerated crozier of St. Patrick indignantly committed to the flames. The event was not doubtful, it was interminable war. The Reformation commenced in uniting religious and polemical supremacy, as direct and just means for the accomplishment of an imaginary ultimate good, and the effort was made at the endless cost of a nation's peace, the destruction of property, and the utter confusion of all right, human and divine.

Throughout the reigns of the amiable and lamented Edward VI. *, and the sanguinary bigot, Mary, the state of

* When Archbishop Cranmer brought the warrant for the execution of a woman whom he had himself condemned for heresy, to have it

Ireland remained much the same as before, nothing being done to tranquillize the country, but rather the breach of religious difference was more mischievously enlarged, and the animosity of party revived by attempts to annul the acts of Henry VIII., and to restore the influence and predominance of Rome once again into Ireland. But a salutary check attended the injudicious measures of Mary, as the Irish saw, with increased dissatisfaction, that while her government was pretending a restoration of religious rights, the arms of her deputy, Sussex, were depriving them of their estates, the whole of the two extensive districts, Leix and Offalia, now King's and Queen's counties, being added to the pale, and vested by act of parliament in the crown.

Another proceeding of the Earl of Sussex struck more deeply at the ancient independence of the country, and such was its apparent unreasonableness, that it was looked upon as highly preposterous. He caused an act of parliament to be passed, authorizing the chancellor to award commissions to persons selected by the deputy, who were to perambulate the territories of the Irish princes, and secretly ascertain the situation of the several parts of the country, so that a division might be made of the same into counties; and these, being certified to the deputy, and approved of by him, were to be returned and enrolled in the chancery, and thenceforth considered as effectually determined as if they had received the sanction of the parliament.

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signed by the king, he was obliged to use all his theological arguments to induce the humane and feeling prince to perfect the fatal instrument. At length Edward set his hand to the warrant, but with tears in his eyes, telling Cranmer, that, "if he did wrong, he (Cranmer) should answer for it to God." — Burnet, Part II. book i. p. 112.

The policy thus observed in laying a foundation for future claims, became from its insidious tendency a cause of uneasiness and serious alarm; and secured to the government, for the first time, a powerful means of corrupting the source of legislation by enabling the deputy to command a favourable majority on every occasion, by causing the election of new members for the Utopian counties. The influence of this anticipatory possession extended much further; for, although the power of the native septs, particularly in Ulster, was still in a great degree unbroken, yet the government, by declaring at any time a particular portion of the country forfeited to the crown, whatever might have been the pretext for such a declaration, left room for pretensions at a future day.

The commencement of Elizabeth's reign was comparatively quiet, but the apprehensions raised by the clandestine survey just noticed, and the endeavours to carry unpopular measures through parliament, in a time extremely short, brought forth an active opposition which ended in an open rupture of many of the more powerful barons with the crown. O'Neal, the dynast of Ulster, seized on the first attempts to promote the Reformation in Ireland, as a pretence for breaking with the government, whilst, at the same time, the feuds of Desmond and other chiefs in Munster, gave the deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, ample occupation for all his resources. The murder of O'Neal by some Scotch adventurers removed one enemy, and the activity and address of the deputy subdued or reconciled the rest, at least for a time.

The parliamentary enactments, chiefly obtained by an artificial majority, were calculated to break down the authority of the native chieftains, who were forbidden to assume their accustomed titles in places occupied by the

government, unless sanctioned by grants from the queen, which they were invited to take, in order to be invested with them again, after the manner of English tenure: the chief governor was also authorized to present to the ecclesiastical dignities of Munster and Connaught; but the efficacy of these acts, and others more revolting to the feelings of the Irish, was prevented by the disturbances which broke out afresh, attended with greater virulence, in consequence of the severe measures used to advance the Reformation.

In this insurrection the Earl of Desmond took the lead, and several deputies were found unequal to the task of restoring tranquillity. The more active measures of the Earl Grey repressed the efforts of the disaffected, but his steps were marked with blood and desolation, so that Elizabeth was unwillingly compelled to learn the unpleasant truth, that if the government were continued in the hands of that deputy, her majesty would have to reign over nothing but ashes and carcasses. This was considered, even by Elizabeth, a bad way of communicating the light of the gospel; Grey was unwillingly recalled, and a general amnesty granted to such of the adherents of Desmond and his confederates, as would accept of it. The unfortunate earl himself, driven to the extreme of misery, was detected lurking in a retired cabin, and beheaded by a common soldier.

The calamities brought on the population of the south of Ireland by the progress of Grey's arms were truly frightful. The following hideous picture of that expedition is drawn by Spencer, secretary to Earl Grey, (the author of the misery,) of which the writer was himself an eye-witness. "The proof whereof," meaning a harassing and destructive warfare, "I saw sufficiently exampled in these late

wars of Munster; for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long; yet, ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea, *and one another soon after*, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast, for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithal; that in short space there were noiie almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddainely left voyde of man and beast; yet, sure in all that warre, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremitie of famine."

On the recal of Grey, under whose military administration such havoc had been made, Sir John Perrot succeeded as deputy; a man to whom the great body of the people of Ireland looked up with reverential confidence, on account of his justice, impartiality, and liberal policy, as well as for his thorough experience in the affairs of the country, and his knowledge of the causes of the existing troubles, having filled (in 1570) a situation of important trust as president of Munster, during the administration of sir Henry Sidney. This able and discerning magistrate determined, by a benevolent and wise plan of government, to settle the tranquillity and happiness of the country on a secure and permanent foundation. By a steady, strict, and impartial execution, and gradual extension of English

law, he aimed to reduce all the inhabitants of the island into a state of uniform polity, reformation of manners, peace, and prosperity.

The evident physical superiority of the population merely Irish, and the intimate commixture of kindred and interest existing between them and the Hibernicized English, as the descendants of the early settlers were called, impressed upon Perrot's mind the necessity of yielding to circumstances, and to endeavour to erect out of this mass of heterogeneous and conflicting, yet valuable materials of civil combination, a structure conformable to the best ends of society.

To accomplish an undertaking of such magnitude was not an easy task for an individual, even unopposed in his benevolent views. The rancorous feelings excited by intestine tumults were to be allayed; above all, the spirit of aggression on one side, and of retaliation or sanguinary resistance on the other, was to be repressed, and both to be convinced of the dangerous impolicy of mutual destruction. To succeed in this salutary work, the pacific reformer had to contend with that ruined state of mind into which anarchy and the fiercer passions had reduced even the peaceable and more enlightened; and all the barbarous effects of war must have been counteracted before tranquillity could be fairly established.

The weak and defective policy of preceding administrations, instead of making Ireland productive, as the natural treasures of the island would have warranted, had, by palpable mismanagement, kept it as a continual burden upon England, draining the English treasury to support the selfish views of each succeeding deputy, and his fresh swarm of hungry and tyrannical adherents. Twenty thousand a-year, a large sum in those days, was the usual

subsidy, in addition to the revenue of the country, allowed to maintain the government. The demand of sir John Perrot, at the outset of his great experiment, was not more than fifty thousand per annum *for three years only*, in which time he undertook to render Ireland peaceable and productive; and never could money have been expended to more certain advantage.

Elizabeth was at that time engaged in an expensive endeavour to support her Dutch allies against the frivolous ambition of the court of Spain; and unmindful of the superior claims of her own subjects, she refused to comply with Perrot's request, although it was well known that the king of Spain was preparing to send into Ireland a powerful supply of troops, arms, and ammunition, to encourage the Irish princes in their resistance to English domination: that spirit of opposition to the progress of the English arms was not experienced from the Irish chieftains alone, for the great English barons, descended from the early colonists, were armed in defiance of all authority which should appear to trench upon their possessions.

A less worthy cause, however, than the engagement to the Dutch, helped to influence the queen in her imprudent economy. The project of Perrot had awakened the jealousy of many of the great landed proprietors in Ireland; some who surrounded the government, and by their narrow and illiberal views, swayed the minds of each succeeding deputy to the old system of division and destruction; others who were absentees, (for that baneful class was even then existing, notwithstanding the confiscation of their estates by Henry VIII.) trembling for their property, both these united in a common apprehension, and represented, that if the scheme in contemplation should succeed, it must follow as a certain con-

sequence, that the Irish, being no longer weakened or exhausted by civil commotions, would become too strong for its government; and that men so long inured to war, should their mutual strifes be laid aside, would turn their arms against the English, and expel them altogether.

It was in vain that these groundless and visionary anticipations were ridiculed or reprobated by persons who knew Ireland from experience, and could speak most correctly of the true state and direction of its affairs; the queen wavering and hesitating, allowed the important trial to be made, but contracted the scale of operations by giving the philanthropic speculator a very limited and totally inadequate sum of money, with six hundred men, in addition to the forces already on foot in that country.

The first step taken by the deputy was to assemble a parliament, in order to obtain their sanction and support to his undertaking; little, however, was to be expected from an assembly composed of those very persons who were interested in opposing the intended pacification of the country. Their efforts to increase the civil wars had been productive of too much advantage to them to be easily relinquished; their continuance constituted their most flattering hope, and therefore every engine was set at work to thwart the proceedings of the chief governor: even the ordinary compliment of suspending Poynings' law, as a mark of confidence, was refused him; and so far was the spirit of hostility carried, that even forged letters were forwarded to the queen, blackening his reputation, and misrepresenting his views.

Steady, notwithstanding, to his purpose, the deputy proclaimed unqualified protection to all who should return to allegiance, and proceeded fearlessly among the most refractory of the native septs, whom by his justice and

moderation he brought over to his wishes, and secured their acquiescence, by pledging himself to an equal administration of justice to all the inhabitants. His exertions were attended with such beneficial results, that most of the Irish chieftains, influenced by these happy prospects, made a ready offer of allegiance to her majesty, and those of Ulster and Connaught voluntarily agreed to the payment of a composition for the maintenance of a considerable number of soldiers, as the government should choose, for the protection of those provinces, without any expence to the queen.

Here, then, was a glorious commencement of good government; a stop was about to be put to the inhuman butcheries which had so long disgraced the country, and the reign of justice was likely to commence; the enlightened Perrot had even attempted to supply the want of education, which so lamentably was felt since the suppression of the monasteries, by establishing a university; but unfortunately he failed in his generous and salutary designs. Thwarted on all sides by a turbulent and insatiable faction, and sickening at the aggravated cruelties he could not repress; cramped in his powers by the intrigues of Elizabeth's councils, which by drawing troops from Ireland to oppose the Spaniards on the continent, left the country defenceless, exposed to the danger of domestic dissension, and to an apprehended invasion on the part of Spain; all these things filled him with disgust; weary with exertions, which he found useless, this excellent man resigned his situation, and retired from a scene where his wisdom had proved unavailing.

In order to repair the waste of population produced in Munster by the military progress of Lord Grey, and to prevent the Irish from again taking possession of that

fertile district, Elizabeth was desirous of repeopling the whole province with an English colony. The rebellion of Desmond had enabled her to appropriate to the crown the vast estates of that earl, amounting to 574,628 Irish acres, together with the possessions of about one hundred and forty persons implicated with him, which had also been subjected to forfeiture. Adventurers were invited from every county in England, under the most encouraging circumstances, to colonize the new territory. The undertaker for twelve thousand acres, was to plant eighty-six families on his estates, and so in proportion for less possessions. The native Irish were to be absolutely excluded from even the privilege of tenantry; and garrisons were to be stationed on the frontiers for the protection of the new settlers; commissioners were also appointed to decide their controversies.

This cruel and unjust design failed of its purpose. Few of those who were willing to avail themselves of such flattering offers, were found disposed to venture on the speculation, as they naturally expected serious opposition in taking possession of their several grants: the greater part of them, therefore, declined to fulfil the conditions. Still, however, it appears, there were persons willing to accept of these estates, because the principle of *after-claim* had been sanctioned by the proceedings of the government, and long established by custom; but these *proprietors* being non-resident, most of them never having seen their property so acquired, committing the management to ignorant or dishonest agents, (a mischievous practice not peculiar to that period,) contributed to increase the disorders then prevailing.

Among the persons who engaged in this speculation, particular mention should be made of the philosophic

soldier, Sir Walter Raleigh, who by the introduction of the POTATO from South America, made some amends for the cruel murders with which his name was stained under Grey's command. In this instance it must be acknowledged, that a merciful interposition of Providence is manifest; for the humble orders of the peasantry of Ireland, notwithstanding all that has been advanced to the contrary, derive a support from this prolific and nutritive root, which enables them to bear the extraordinary accumulation of calamity by which they have been incessantly afflicted.

The establishment of English plantations throughout Ireland appears to have been a favourite object with Elizabeth, a settlement having been attempted at Ardes, in Down, by Sir Thomas Smith, which failed in consequence of the opposition experienced from the O'Neals. Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, about the same time projected an extensive colony in the territory of Clanhuboy, where the fortified lands were to be protected by a standing force of twelve hundred soldiers; but this enterprize failed like all the others, and the project not only brought ruin on the undertakers, but Essex lost his life either from chagrin, or by poison, the familiar means by which his rival Leicester used to dispose of all who were opposed to his interest.

Amidst these agitated and unpleasant scenes it is gratifying to reflect that the benevolent purpose of Sir John Perrot, regarding a national education, was carried into effect about three years after it was first proposed. The accomplishment of that important affair was brought about by Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, who although opposed to Perrot's administration from motives of private interest, and, perhaps, piqued that he was not the first to suggest the plan, used his influence at the time to prevent it; yet he afterwards obtained a charter in 1591, for

the erection of a college. The site chosen for the building was very appropriate, namely, the monastery of All-hallows, near Dublin, founded by Dermond Mac Murrough for the usual ends of religious retreat and education. In the proscriptive measures of Henry VIII. this monastery underwent the general fate, and had been granted to the city of Dublin, from whose possession it was repurchased, and the schools were opened with great solemnity in January, 1593. The foundation has been since advanced to the rank of a University, and greatly enriched by legacies and donations: it is at present as distinguished for wealth as it is for erudition.

The imbecile and erroneous policy of Elizabeth, in refusing or rather rejecting the overtures of the Irish for a general pacification under Perrot, became wofully visible after his resignation; a general insurrection was the almost immediate consequence. This rebellion, raised by the chiefs of Ulster, was supported by the Spaniards, and artfully fomented by false representations that it was encouraged by the reigning Pope. It was long and violent, and cost the parsimonious Elizabeth upwards of four millions sterling, besides the life of her favourite Essex, and finally hastened her own dissolution; the unfortunate country having been scourged with a most rueful devastation, and a terrible waste of human life by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence with all its train of horrors.

The great military talents of Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, united with a clear, comprehensive, and firm mind, broke down resistance in every quarter with uncompromising determination. Nor was the policy of this eminent soldier less powerful than were his arms. He endeavoured to detach the old natives from their turbulent chiefs, whether of Irish or English descent, and induced

them under the fairest promises, which were generally fulfilled, to join themselves to his banners, and even take the lead in the most hazardous engagements,—a zeal which he turned to his credit with the queen; to whom he boasted with inhuman exultation, that he had thus made her enemies the means of self-destruction.

A calm ensued. It was the tranquillity of death. The victorious deputy sat down in the midst of blood, to enjoy a peace purchased with the loss of half the population. In these circumstances James I. came to the throne.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF IRELAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I.

THE principle on which English dominion was originally established in Ireland, must, from its very nature, have repressed the energies of the people, and prevented them from benefiting of the vast advantages which the country presented. Henry II. brought with him pretensions which, wisely directed, would have rendered his reign propitious, and the annexation of the Irish to his English subjects permanently prosperous to both nations; but his political necessities compelled him to deprive them of the happy consequences of union and equal rights, by throwing the one into the hands of needy adventurers, whose interest it was to isolate their acquisitions, and form a dangerous medium of selfish independence between both. The successors of Henry weakly followed his example. Sir John Davies gives a pithy view of this pernicious principle. "Our great lords could not endure that any kings should reign in Ireland but themselves; nay, they could hardly endure that the crown of England itself should have any jurisdiction or power over them. For many of these lords, to whom our kings had granted these petty kingdoms, did, by virtue and colour of these grants, claim and exercise *jura regalia* within their territories, insomuch as there were no less than eight counties palatine in Ireland at one time."

These grants were made with a view of securing the at-

tachment and support of the grantees in the time of the feudal struggles in England; but although that profuse liberality, at the expence of another nation, helped them to secure the possession of their own, it laid the foundation of a woful anarchy, which affords the historian nothing but a detail of military barbarities, and disgusting deterioration of national character. "Assuredly," continues the writer just quoted, "by these grants of whole provinces and petty kingdoms, those few English lords pretended to be proprietors of all the land, *so as there was no possibility left of settling the natives in their possessions*, and by consequence the conquest became impossible without the utter extirpation of all the Irish, which those English lords were not able to do, nor perhaps willing, if they had been able. *They persuaded the king of England that it was unfit to communicate the laws of England unto them; that it was* THE BEST POLICY TO HOLD THEM AS ALIENS AND ENEMIES, AND TO PROSECUTE THEM WITH A CONTINUAL WAR."

Not content with carrying into effect this horrid proscription, they grew jealous of one another, filling the country with dissension, revolution, and bloodshed, through an over anxiety for extending their individual possessions, each making the *nolumus hunc regnare* the law of the hour, and tracing their land-marks with the sword. How, it may be asked, could such men maintain even the semblance of good government, or indeed, any government at all? With what minds could they be supposed to legislate for the people amongst whom they held such jarring turbulence? The fact is, they became so degenerate, rudely arrogant, and festive, as to disdain meeting in parliament, or submit to be bound by any form of law whatever. Their conduct was marked by absurdity still

more mischievous. They terrified or influenced the persons who did assemble on such occasions, to pass enactments of such a nature as to make the terms law and justice far from synonymous; their coarse intrigues perpetually thwarted the deputies, and rendered every endeavour of government nugatory. They went further; frequently usurping the reins of state, and by the most perverse and wilful mismanagement, making "confusion worse confounded."

In circumstances like these, the people were treated merely as the means of promoting the factious purposes of those powerful lords, and consequently, a disposition to military strife and restless tumult was encouraged in place of their ancient mild and merciful character. Their original rude but simple institutions were corrupted, and no reformation of manners or substitution of better laws was attempted in their room. The native princes, still mindful of their hereditary wrongs, took occasional advantage of the impolicy of these contentions to regain their rights,* but with a lamentable loss of national prosperity, their endeavours tending still more to augment the miseries of the country, without effecting aught of public good; because, the English lords, aspiring to the whole, refused to enter into any compromise which might secure the native chieftains even in a part, or admit of any amelioration of the moral condition of the people, — an injustice the most cruel and barbarous they could possibly commit.

Many of the Irish princes, more prudent than the others,

* "It was on one side, a powerful government possessed with the spirit of rapine, invading property and privileges not its own; it was on the other side, a band of feeble but lawful princes, fighting without hope, yet with pertinacity, because they fought for power and independence."
Parnell's Historical Apology.

sought the support of the government in England, submitting to the laws, and receiving titles in return: some even sat in the parliamentary assemblies, as appears in the reign of Elizabeth, when Turlough of Tyrone, ranking as a temporal peer in the parliament of 1588, and also the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe, who, according to the custom of the time, had received their appointment from the pope, independently of English authority, assisted in the deliberations of that period.

Antecedently to the reign of James, the national concerns of Ireland had never been represented in parliament. The convention, usually known by that name, should rather have been called the parliament of the *pale* than the parliament of *Ireland*, as it had cognizance merely of the affairs of the English colony; nor were its enactments obeyed except within the contracted limits of that little territory. Under James the parliament assumed a different character, and may be said to date its origin from the epoch of that king's accession.

James was no stranger to the reduced and ruined state of Ireland at the time of Elizabeth's decease, as he had privily fomented the rebellion with aids from Scotland, with a view to embarrass the queen, and prevent any strong opposition to his succession; so that, knowing the extent of the storm he had contributed to raise, he could the more easily obtain credit for understanding the best means of allaying it. The king's vanity scarcely needed the adulation of the crafty Cecil to make him entertain the highest value for his own wisdom: he therefore proceeded at once to tranquillize the nation by acts of the royal will to secure persons and property from the consequences of implication in the late rebellion.

Acts of *oblivion* and *indemnity* were published by pro-

clamation under the great seal, by which all offences against the crown, and all injuries between subject and subject were for ever cancelled and forgiven. *A commission of grace* was also proclaimed, by which the chief governor was empowered to accept the surrender of their estates from the Irish chieftains, and substitute fee-simple tenure in place of the old brehon system of tanistry thus giving to the crown in fact a power of claiming those very estates in case of any complaint to be set up on any future opportunity. Time proved this fact too truly. Submitting to the English arms, they gladly laid aside all further hostilities: relying on this offer of James to guarantee even a secondary right in the soil, they resigned into the hands of a stranger, whom they had not proved, an indefeasible right derived from the remotest ancestry, and which it was their sacred duty to preserve unimpaired to their descendants. The tenour of this commission of grace is important, as it has the closest connection with the history of property at that particular period.

Each lord, accepting new patents for his estates, was invested only with the lands found to be in his immediate possession, while his followers were confirmed in their several tenures, on condition only of their payment to him of a yearly rent equivalent to his claims exacted formerly, under the brehon system, which was now declared to be abolished. This new arrangement, which appeared so fine in theory, proved, on account of the insincerity of its application, highly mischievous, by throwing the whole mass of the population into a new and unnatural state, and withdrawing them from their legitimate association with their ancient chiefs, and was in no respect better than the system it was calculated to supersede.

According to that part of the brehon law which regu-

lated succession, the right of inheritance as to property was equally secured to all members of the state. As it regarded government, a slight distinction only was made. A chief, called a Tanist, was elected during the life-time of the reigning prince, in order to obviate any misunderstanding that might arise on his decease, and this right of election was claimed by the sept on the brehon principle, that the chieftain possessed no property in the territory over which he ruled, *except his patrimonial lands*; he possessed a right in the throne only for life; the succession did not necessarily descend to his son, although the son might be elected Tanist, and as such be allowed to assist in the cares of government. Thus the followers, as the subjects of the Irish princes were emphatically called, were on a perfect equality with the head of the state in point of property: the revenue also of the prince, such as it was, consisted of voluntary support, and was seldom claimed, except in cases of extreme necessity. But as the monarchy was instituted for the national benefit, particular care was taken to provide a distinct revenue independent of all other princely claims, in order that this supreme office might be maintained with greater dignity and power. For this purpose, in the reign of Tuathal, who enjoyed the monarchy in the end of the first, and beginning of the second centuries, according to the Irish histories, the States granted considerable tracts of land to the royal domain of Tara, consisting of portions taken from the adjoining provinces, which are comprehended in the present county of Meath; and as this grant was made solely for the maintenance of the monarch's court, it was denominated *the mensal territory of the monarch of Ireland.* The characteristic of the brehon rule, peculiarly calculated for peaceful circumstances, though, perhaps, insecure in times of exigency, was that

of being perfectly patriarchal and fraught with devotional attachment between the prince and people. That such a system was of a nature too simple to answer the complicated concerns of extended population is manifest; but, under its provisions, the ancient Irish were content, and had learned so lively a sense of justice, as to merit the testimony, that "there is no nation of people under the sun, that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, *though it be against themselves;* so as they may have the benefit and protection of the law, when upon just causes they do desire it." *

By this departure from long established usage, nothing more was effected, it appears, than a change of terms, English for Brehon; for tenure being secured to those of small estate, which must have been desirable, and of which they had strong assurances †, it remained to be proved whether inheritance had been rendered equally safe to future generations; and whether the new or the ancient lord was more entitled to regard. Whatever may have been the success of the design at that period is doubtful, as other new and afflicting causes arose to disturb the

* Sir John Davies's Tracts.

† "All the possessions shall descend, and be conveyed according to the course of the common law: every man shall have a certain home, and know the extent of his estate; whereby the people will be encouraged to manure their land with better industry than heretofore hath been used; to bring up their children more civilly; to provide for their posterity more carefully; these will cause them to build better houses for their safety, and to love neighbourhood; thence will arise villages and towns, which will draw tradesmen and artificers; so as we conceive a hope, that these countries, in a short time, will not only be quiet neighbours to the pale, but be made as rich and as civil as the pale itself."
Davies's Tracts.

tranquillity of this ill-fated country on the score of religion, bursting forth with those peculiarly pernicious effects which always attend difference of opinion on that subject, whenever property is involved in the question.

It is now necessary, in order to have a clear view of the advancement in civilized life, according to the proposed improvements which were to flow from the commission of grace, to consider what good effects followed the promulgation of English law in Ireland; and to ascertain how far that celebrated admonition of Bacon was acted on, namely, "to take care, lest Ireland *civil* should become more dangerous than Ireland *savage*."

During the reign of Elizabeth, the prevailing troubles had greatly impeded the progress of reformation in matters of religion; and James, it is said, encouraged reports that he would be favourable to the catholics; it was even asserted by some, that he was in correspondence with the pope long before he came to the throne of England: at all events, the catholics flattered themselves with a toleration of their religion, and began to profess it openly, which they dared not to do in the preceding reign. Whatever may have been the religious principles of James, certain it is, that he soon undeceived the catholics as to their expectations of indulgence, and the sword of Mountjoy soon calmed their enthusiasm on that head. The act of conformity, (2 E.) which had lain dormant for many years, was promulgated with a proclamation of the king, for its strict observance; and all recusants, or such as refused to subscribe to its provisions, were subjected to certain penalties: by the same proclamation also, all popish clergy were commanded to leave the kingdom within a limited time. Plots too, which had been tried with such success in England, were resorted to in Ireland; and *an anonymous*

letter conveniently dropped in the chamber of the Irish privy council, fortunately gave intimation of a new scheme of rebellion formed by the chiefs of Ulster.

The persons implicated in this pretended conspiracy were the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, who were suspected of being adverse to James's plans for extending the reformation; or that being desirous to avail themselves of the discontents occasioned by those measures, they sought to re-establish their ancient independence. Under the circumstances of their late defeat, and the influence it must have had upon the minds of the nation, such an attempt must have been considered absurd, and the accusation equally so. The guilt or innocence, however, of those noblemen still remains undecided; not so their fate. On the first alarm they fled the country, and were attainted of high treason, together with others of less note; and, by the act to that effect, their immense estates were declared forfeited to the crown.

That the king was aware of the means by which this plot was arranged, is plain, from his proclamation regarding it, wherein he pledged himself thereafter to make it appear to the world as clear as the sun, by evident proof, that the only ground of these earls' departure was their own knowledge and terror of guilt; yet this proof has never since been given. The forfeitures accruing from the flight of the attainted earls, and others derived from Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's estates in Inishowen, who was defeated after an ineffectual resistance of about five months, amounted to above five hundred thousand Irish acres, or nearly seven hundred thousand of English measure; comprising almost the whole of the counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry, Armagh, and Tyrconnel, the latter since called Donegal.

In consequence of the attainder pronounced against the lords of Ulster, the unoffending people residing in the forfeited districts were unjustly visited with the punishment of their alleged treason; unjustly, it must be said, because, by the commission of grace issued by James, the personal property only of the attainted persons was liable to forfeiture; and by the same instrument, the humblest individual not involved in the guilt of the others, was by the fact of his innocence, protected in the possession of his property. The disposition made of those lands, then, was the most shameful violation of justice and fair dealing that could be conceived: the whole territory over which the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel were supposed to exercise a tacit control of tanistry, was included in the act of attainder, and an undistinguishing confiscation took place.

James had now ample materials for carrying his favourite scheme of colonization into execution. The vast forfeitures made in the wars of Elizabeth, added to those now at the disposal of the crown in Ulster, were parcelled out amongst adventurers who were invited from England and Scotland; but in the distribution, special care was taken to encourage settlers well disposed to support and strengthen the principles of the reformation. The citizens of London speculated on this occasion, and a tract of two hundred and nine thousand eight hundred acres was assigned them in the vicinity of Derry, which they named Londonderry. The whole of Inishowen was granted to Sir Arthur Chichester, the deputy, by whose advice the plantation was begun.

The errors in former attempts at colonization served to direct the proceedings in this, and the settlers were divided into three classes; namely, new undertakers, servitors, and native Irish: the latter were received, out of the king's great clemency, because it was apprehended the whole

scheme would otherwise fail for want of legalized occupants, and the work of subjugation, and of "braying in the mortar," as was applied by Sir John Davies to the effects of Mountjoy's campaigns, would have to commence again.

"The lands assigned for distribution were divided into proportions of two thousand, fifteen hundred, and one thousand English acres; and these were distributed by lot under certain regulations. The proprietors were bound to the performance of a variety of stipulations, tending to the security and improvement of the country, and the civilization of the natives. Among these was an obligation to set their lands at determined rents, on leases for three lives, or twenty-one years at least. A yearly rent for the crown was reserved from all these lands, for every sixty acres from British undertakers, six shillings and eightpence; from servitors, ten shillings; from old natives, thirteen and fourpence."*

The kingdom being thus regulated in a manner that left little reason to apprehend farther disturbance, the king proceeded to take into consideration the state of the civil polity, which had remained in the greatest disorder throughout the former reigns. It might with more propriety be said that hitherto the laws had been ineffectual towards attaining the ends of justice, and seemed to have been framed for no other purpose than giving employment to the forms of government then in use. Accordingly, as all parties† to

* Gordon's History of Ireland.

† "In the distribution of lands due attention was paid to the *claims* of the clergy, and the maintenance of religious establishments. All ecclesiastical lands were ordered to be restored to their respective sees and churches, and all to be redeemed of this description from which bishops had in former times received revenues. Compositions for church-lands were commanded to be made with the patentee proprietors, who were to receive equivalents, if they compounded freely, otherwise

whom the king looked for support to his plans of reformation, had been made satisfied with the grants of land; his majesty's next care was to assemble a parliament to render valid all the previous proceedings of his reign in Ireland, as also to secure the success of those he had in contemplation.

Ireland had been the theatre of religious reformation as well as England, but the disturbances had rendered its progress a matter of secondary concern. The nation was at this time divided into two parties, catholics and protestants, (if there may be an exception of the Scotch settlers in Ulster, who were Calvinists,) whose powers were nearly balanced; the former, constituting the great body of the population, duped rather than defeated, were without influence; the latter, adhering to the cause which every day gained additional strength, and holding the largest share of property, enjoyed of course all the emoluments of office, and laboured to impose every kind of disqualification upon their political opponents. A parliament was, therefore, desired by the one party to confirm their acquisitions; it was wished for also by the other, to regain, if possible, under sanction of law, what they had lost in taking part in the late contests, or by not subscribing to the act of conformity. It was, in short, no longer *Irish*

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to be deprived without requital. Bishops were obliged to resign to the incumbents of the several parishes the tythes which they had received as impropriate, from which they were amply compensated from the king's lands. Each proportion allotted to the undertakers *was made a parish* with a church. To incumbents, besides their tithes and duties, were glebes assigned of from sixty to one hundred and twenty acres. Free schools were endowed in the principal towns, and large grants of land made to the univerity of Dublin, together with the advowson of six parochial churches." Gordon's History.

against *English*, it now became protestant against catholic; the latter, who were the old inhabitants of the pale, descended from the first settlers, having their numbers increased by the native Irish, who still remained firmly attached to their old form of religion.

Were the government of James indifferent, this might have been considered a crisis. The moment was critical, and the non-indifference of James's government turned the scale. The protestant cause obtained a preponderating increase by the creation of a number of boroughs in the new settlements, by an exertion of the king's divine right. In the parliament assembled in Dublin on this occasion in 1613, the protestant members mustered 125 strong, whilst the catholic party was represented by 121. Neither could induce their opponents to give way; each side wanted to place a speaker of their own choice in the chair: the elections were loudly complained of, for their notorious injustice; all was uproar and confusion. Both sides had been long used to make the sword the arbiter of opinion, and they were on the point of having recourse to the old mode of reference, when the lord deputy, sir Arthur Chichester, prorogued the parliament, to enable both parties to lay their complaints before the king.

The complaint was heard with apparent impartiality, although two of the catholic agents were committed to prison: the king's arguments against their remonstrance were conclusive, and the matter was ultimately referred to the privy council. The complaints of the catholics were declared groundless; and the desire on the part of the king, to keep a middle course between the parties, gave offence to both, and hopes were secretly cherished of maintaining their several views once more in the field. The parliament was, however, again convened, and the business of legis-

lation was again begun, but under very inauspicious circumstances. *

Although the proceedings of the memorable session of 1613, were of little immediate moment, yet the parties being brought into civil contact, began to feel each other's capabilities of prevalence. The secret workings of Chichester brought into tangible shape his sentiments respecting the recusants: "of this kind of men we have no need, and shall have less use:" and the protestants soon found that the whole influence of the crown was with them, or to use a common expression, such as was then in use, "they had the ball at their foot," and they were not long idle.

I would here entreat the reader to pause, and accept my most solemn assurance, that the use of such words as

* On the subject just mentioned, the following private letter of the deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, to Sir John Davies, may not be uninteresting. "In making of the borough towns, I find more and more difficulties and uncertainties; some return that they are but tenants at will and pleasure to certain gentlemen, who have the fee-farm, or by lease for a few years, so as they are doubtful to name themselves as burgesses without the landlord's consent; and the landlord is of the church of Rome, and will return none but recusants, *of which kind of men we have no need, and shall have less use.* Some other towns have few others to return than recusants, and others *none but soldiers;* so as my advice in that point is, that you bring direction and authority to make such towns boroughs only as we think fit and behoveful for the service; and to omit such as are named, if they be like to be against us; and to enable others by charter, if we can find them answerable to our expectations, albeit they be not in the list sent thither by the lord Carewe, nor returned as allowed there. I send you two or three letters of those I received in answer of mine, touching this matter, to peruse, by which you may judge what the rest are. I wish we might carry it, and prevail in the matters to be handled in this parliament, as is behoveful for his majesty's service, and the good of the kingdom; but I doubt there will be great opposition to all that is good; and we must encounter them the best we may."

protestant or *catholic*, as they may drop from my pen, are never used, or intended to be understood in any irritating or injurious sense; *tros, tyriusve* would suit my purpose as well, if they could be allowed: truth, conciliation, and a love of justice guide my opinion; and as I purpose not to depart from the line of argument which these principles dictate, I must claim the indulgence which such motives merit.

Among "the matters to be handled in this parliament," great care was taken to secure the establishment of the clergy. The whole temporal establishment of the Catholic hierarchy had been transferred with valuable additions to the reformed church, under parliamentary sanction. This measure affected the great body of the Catholics in a most tender point, as it threw upon them an ill-judged burden,—that of the maintenance of a clergy proscribed by law, and now solely dependent on their generosity; whilst they were compelled to contribute by tithe to the support of the church as by law established.

The recusants of the pale, moreover, were refused that honourable confidence which their long military services and elevated reputation deserved; and their minds became alienated by the calumnies with which their religious tenets were assailed, whilst their discontents served but to promote the views of their adversaries. In the distribution of the plantation lands, likewise, a galling partiality was shown by the commissioners, who placed the injustice of their proceedings to the king's account; whether fairly or not, is somewhat doubtful. The lands reserved for the old natives, part, undoubtedly, of their own hereditary possessions, were scandalously wrested from them, and given to needy adventurers, who insultingly settled in the fields stained with the blood of the victors and the vanquished,

and exasperated both by seizing upon the subject of their mutual contention.

Another proceeding of James's added still more to the misfortunes of the Irish. The estates of Connaught, which were surrendered in Elizabeth's time, for the purpose of being re-granted under letters patent, had remained without the necessary security of title, and were afterwards re-conveyed to the proprietors by James under the great seal; but by neglect or design, the enrolment of the patents in Chancery had not been effected, although three thousand pounds had been paid for that purpose. A commission was issued by the king to scrutinize the titles of all estates in Leinster and Connaught; and by the active researches made under this commission, his majesty found himself entitled to make a new distribution of nearly four hundred thousand acres in those districts. Remonstrance and complaint, however humbly or earnestly urged, were useless. At length a new confirmation of the patents was agreed on, the proprietors paying to the King a sum double of what would arise from a new plantation of the lands in question.

The "terror and sharp penalties," which Spencer deprecated in the reign of Elizabeth, as a means of promoting the Reformation, were, by the Irish parliament of James, again resorted to with an obstinate absurdity which neither prudence nor policy could justify. To disarm the hostility of the Irish chieftains by depriving them of all territorial power, in order to lay down a system of civilized polity and national amendment, was most wise and praiseworthy; but to take from the people the salutary check of religion, to force upon them doctrines to which they felt a decided aversion, to banish their priests by proclamation, and forbid the mass, was, to say the least, not consistent

with prudence and the declaration of pacific intent so frequently and solemnly made known. Feelings of hostility, more fatally dangerous to the public repose than existed amidst any of the preceding ages of warfare, a keen sense of insult, and the mutual apprehension attendant upon injustice and visionary zeal, conjured up a demon similar to that which had long desolated England; and the meek spirit of Christian forbearance fled before the odious presence of bigotry.

The state of Ireland in the end of James's reign was much more tranquil than might be expected from the baseness of that monarch's measures; his successor found it far otherwise. The fanatical extravagance in matters of religious opinion which followed the agitation of the Reformation in England, was nearly at its height when Charles ascended the throne; and had extended itself, in the shape of severe intolerance, into Ireland, already in the most dangerous ferment from the recent troubles. Happily for the Catholics their circumstances were too much reduced to embroil them in the confusion of the reformers, and these, however divided among themselves, (for Episcopalians and Presbyterians were both contending for superiority,) agreed in a common desire to keep them still further off by a more marked exclusion.

On occasion of a threatened war with Spain, and the apprehension of domestic agitations, the Catholic gentry of Ireland came forward unanimously with offers of men and money in support of the government.* The return

* Alluding to the conduct of Charles, whom the Catholics idly supposed partial to their religion, and consequently expected from him protection and favour, Mr. Parnell, in his Historical Apology, thus speaks of a scheme of that monarch's for the purpose of raising supplies: — "The first important injustice which tended to alienate the

they experienced was an order of the Governor-in-chief, forbidding the exercise of their religious rites; in the same manner were the Catholic Irish, who filled the victorious ranks of Elizabeth, treated by the cold-hearted Mountjoy. But the Catholics were not the only sufferers, for their Protestant countrymen, who made offers somewhat similar, experienced an ungracious reception.

Lord Viscount Wentworth, who entered on the office of chief-governor with a persuasion that all in Ireland were alike intractable, without weighing the existing differences, and regardless of the mutual prejudices which prevailed, made no merit of voluntary support from either, but commanded their obedience with a harshness of dictation that might at any other time have driven all into rebellion, for all had cause to be offended. The deputy gained his purpose, and raised the necessary supplies with the most insulting arrogance; and such was the awe with which he inspired parliament, that they ordered the sheriff to inflict corporal punishment on one of their members, who happened to displease the chief-governor.

Previously to the time of this arbitrary magistrate, a successful endeavour had been made to extend the woollen manufacture in the southern parts of Ireland, which, from the mildness of the climate, and other circumstances, was

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minds of the Roman Catholics, was the perfidy of Charles with regard to the celebrated *graces*. The Catholics had offered to pay *one hundred and twenty thousand pounds* for the enactment of certain laws, for the security of toleration, property, and justice; the king accepted their offer, and gave his royal promise that these laws should be passed. *He took their money and broke his word* in the most cruel and insulting manner; and not one of these *graces*, though they were so reasonable and wise that the monarch ought to have been obliged to the subject for suggesting them, was ever granted."

well adapted for the purpose; this was suppressed by Wentworth, earl of Strafford, from political motives, lest Ireland should rise to competition in that respect with England; but to make amends for the monopoly thus established, he employed his accustomed energy to encourage the fabrication of linens in its stead, to effect which he even took a personal concern in its advancement. This last was for Ireland one of the wisest acts of the violent and unfortunate Strafford. After his departure to England, whither he was summoned to the aid of his ill-fated master, Ireland again became a prey to discontent, intolerance, and tumult. The rebellion of 1641, with its odious details, — probable and improbable, — equally disgusting and appalling, followed; so also followed the downfall of the ungrateful Charles * and the kingly form of government.

The puritanical party having succeeded in their designs for the subversion of constitutional liberty in England, turned their black anger against the royal adherents in Ireland; and the scourge of Providence was placed in the hands of Oliver Cromwell, who made all parties in that devoted country feel to the last point of endurance the weight of the visitation. The progress of that sanguinary fanatic spread desolation in every quarter; and the efforts of the marquis of Ormond, although directed with singular skill and perseverance, were found unequal to resist the destructive ravager. The Catholics, who, from their num-

* "It is no small unequivocal mark of the eminent loyalty and fidelity of the Irish Catholics, that at Charles's execution they formed the only compact national body throughout the extent of the British empire who had preserved untainted and unshaken their faith and attachment to the royal cause, although they had been throughout his reign more oppressed, persecuted, and aggrieved by their sovereign, than any other description of his subjects whatsoever."

PLOWDEN's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 393.

ber as well as inclination, supplied the chief material for the royalist ranks, particularly experienced the vengeance of the conqueror; and the five days' incessant carnage in Drogheda, after the town was taken, and the subsequent cold-blooded butchery at Wexford, of the Catholic soldiers who formed the garrisons of both these places, are sad proofs of what that loyal class was then compelled to suffer.

Cromwell, who had scriptural authority ready to shelter his boldest and most atrocious crimes, used to urge his soldiery to treat the Irish Catholics "as the Canaanites had been treated in the time of Joshua." Their extirpation seems to have been one of his main objects in following the war into Ireland, for not less than forty thousand of the natives, who had submitted or were made prisoners, were transported from the shores of their country, their sole crime being faithfulness to their king, for which they were branded with the stigma of rebellion; and their efforts repaid with proscription. The remainder were compelled to renounce whatever property they possessed in the more fertile parts of the kingdom, and were driven into the desolate wastes of the west, or in the words of the late earl of Clare:—"After a fierce and bloody contest for eleven years, in which the face of the whole island was desolated, and its population nearly extinguished by war, pestilence, and famine, the insurgents were subdued, and suffered all the calamities which could be inflicted on the vanquished party in a long-contested civil war. This was a civil war of extirpation. Cromwell's first act was to collect all the native Irish, who had survived the general desolation and remained in the country, and to transplant them into the province of Connaught, which had been depopulated and laid waste in the progress of the rebellion. They were

ordered to retire thither by a certain day, and forbidden to repass the Shannon on pain of death; and this sentence of deportation was rigidly enforced until the Restoration. Their ancient possessions were seized and given up to the conquerors, as were the possessions of every man who had taken a part in the rebellion, or followed the fortune of the king after the murder of Charles I. This whole fund was distributed amongst the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army, in satisfaction of the arrears of their pay, and amongst the adventurers who had advanced money to defray the expences of the war. And thus a new colony of new settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England, independents, anabaptists, seceders, Brownists, Socinians, millenarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy, poured into Ireland, and were put into possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants."

It is said that upwards of six hundred thousand Irish acres were confiscated during that ever memorable interregnum, and that the Protector reserved to himself the whole of the county of Tipperary, as a demesne for the state, in which no adventurer or soldier was to have an assignment. As if the Catholics of Ireland had not sufficiently appeased the wrath of Cromwell by the loss of their estates, the most rigorous enforcement of the 2 Eliz. was proclaimed, and all exercise of their religion, even in private, made a capital offence; a reward of five pounds was offered for the head of a priest or a wolf, and the non-discovery of a priest was punished with confiscation of property and death: thus it was that the sufferers under this horrible proscription were doubly punished for their sacrifices of blood and treasure in defence of their lawful, however unworthy, sovereign; and thus it was, amidst all

the revolutions which visited and harassed that unhappy country since the first arrival of the English, that, to use the vulgar saying, "whoever danced, they were sure to pay the piper."

In the first parliament convened after the Restoration, the impediments thrown in the way of the Catholics to prevent them from taking a part in the legislative deliberations were effectual. In this their enemies were encouraged by the ill-advised behaviour of the king, who permitted them to be treated with the most ungracious severity, after all their sacrifices; they were also prevented from assembling to represent their grievances, and even from passing, on ordinary business, from one province to another. Although hitherto they were not excluded by law from seats in parliament, yet the episcopalian and puritan party managed to secure a decided majority in that assembly by the most arbitrary and unconstitutional measures.

A vote was passed by the commons, that no one should be admitted a member of that house, but such as had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. A resolution was also passed by the house of peers, that all the members thereof should receive the sacrament from the hands of the Speaker, the archbishop of Armagh. The parliament, thus exclusively constituted, by depriving itself of its original character of national representation, passed the famous *acts of settlement and explanation*, by which the crown relinquished its claim to the forfeited lands, and in return for this generous disinterestedness, that assembly, which was chiefly composed of the adherents of Cromwell, voted the hereditary revenue of the country, by which the king and his successors were made in a great measure independent of the people for supplies.

The difficulty of apportioning the confiscations was so

obvious, that commissioners were appointed to determine the various claims; and the manner in which that trust was discharged will best appear from the following representation of the matter given by the late earl of Clare, in his speech on the Union, in the Irish house of lords, in 1800: —

"The act of settlement professes to have for its object the execution of his majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and the satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his subjects there; and, after reciting the rebellion, the enormities committed in the progress of it, and the final reduction of the rebels by the king's English and protestant subjects, by a general sweeping clause vests in the king, his heirs and successors, all estates real and personal, of every kind whatsoever, in the kingdom of Ireland, which at any time from the 21st of October 1641, were seized and sequestered into the hands or to the use of Charles I., or the then king, or otherwise disposed of, set out, or set apart, by reason or on account of the rebellion, or which were allotted, assigned, or distributed, to any person or persons for adventures, arrears, reprisals, or otherwise, or whereof any soldier, adventurer, or other person was in possession for or on account of the rebellion. And having thus, in the first instance, vested three-fourths of the lands and personal property of the inhabitants of this island in the king, commissioners are appointed, with full and exclusive authority, to hear and determine all claims upon the general fund, whether of officers and soldiers for arrears of pay, of adventurers who had advanced money for carrying on the war, or of innocent papists, as they are called, in other words, of the old inhabitants of the island, who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, not for taking part in the rebellion

against the English crown, but for their attachment to the fortunes of Charles I.; but with respect to this class of sufferers, who might naturally have expected a preference of claim, a clause is introduced, by which they are postponed, after a decree of innocence by the commissioners, until previous reprisals shall be made to Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers who had obtained possession of their inheritance. I will not detain the house with a minute detail of the provisions of this act: but I wish gentlemen who call themselves the dignified and independent Irish nation, to know, that *seven millions eight hundred thousand acres of land were set out, under the authority of this act, to a motley crew of English adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants of the island.* Many of the latter class who were innocent of the rebellion lost their inheritance, as well from the difficulties imposed upon them by the Court of Claims, in the proofs required of their innocence, as from the deficiency in the fund for reprisals to English adventurers, arising principally from a profuse grant made by the crown to the duke of York. The parliament of Ireland, having made this settlement of the island in effect on themselves, granted a hereditary revenue to the crown, as an indemnity for the forfeitures thus relinquished by Charles II."

The composition rents, as the extortions under Elizabeth, James, and Charles I., were called, when forfeited estates, or those of defective title or otherwise questionable tenure were purchased over and over again by the possessors, to satisfy the illegal demands repeatedly made upon them on the part of the crown, were nothing compared to the mischiefs that followed on the act of settlement. The celebrated *graces* of Charles I., in which Strafford swindled the Catholics out of thousands for privileges which a good

government would have solicited the subject to accept of, were not more baneful in the disappointment created by their non-performance, than what arose from the illusions played off in that same act of settlement, or rather of *direption.*

The state of the Catholics at this time was little calculated to allay the irritation of mind naturally arising from the loss of property; insult had been added to injury, and the measure of excluding them from both houses of parliament, now for the first time effected, tended more than any other to complete their degradation. The Lord-Lieutenant gave a very remarkable opinion on that exclusion, when he transmitted the votes of parliament to England for the royal assent. In his letter to the Earl of Arran he says, "I do not think it proper to convoke a parliament, chiefly on account of the severity of two bills transmitted against the papists, the one taking away the votes of peers while they are papists, and the other inflicting *death* upon a certain sort of papist clergy, if found in Ireland; the one seeming unjust, the other cruel, and neither necessary."

The character of Ormond has been variously represented, praised or censured as he happened to aid or resist the contending interests of the times. Since the days of Sir John Perrot no man in supreme office appears to have had a more thorough knowledge of the Irish character than the duke of Ormond. Intrepid, prudent, humane, his views were manly, comprehensive, and just; liberal and enlightened, he studied alike the interests of king and subject: using force only where persuasion was found unavailing, he turned the results of his wise efforts to the general good. The knowledge he had of the human mind gave him a facility of foresight equal to execution; and even his very failings conveyed a useful lesson to mankind.

The open and firm administration of Ormond made him obnoxious to a party in England, called the *Cabal*, rendered memorable by their secret endeavours to subvert the prevailing order of things; and the agitated state of the Catholics afforded a convenient opportunity to make their complaints a pretext to question the propriety of his public conduct, whilst the great increase of his private fortune from 7000*l.* per annum before the war to nearly 80,000*l.* after its termination, afforded strong grounds to work his removal.

In his defence before the privy council, in England, he proved the charges of his enemies false and frivolous. His dignified behaviour, and the cool scorn with which he treated his accusers in the royal presence, so far provoked the favourite, Buckingham, that he asked the king, "Sir, I wish to know whether it be the duke of Ormond that is out of favour with your majesty, or your majesty with the duke of Ormond; for of the two, you seem most out of countenance." His elevated integrity awed even his majesty, as was shown by an observation made by the king on seeing the duke approaching to take his seat in the council as usual: "Yonder comes Ormond; *I have done all in my power to disoblige him, and to make him* AS DISCONTENTED AS OTHERS, *but he will be loyal in spite of me; I must even employ him again; he is the fittest person to govern Ireland.*"

By the superior management of Ormond, the protestant clergy got possession of the church-establishment, in exclusion both of the Catholics, who had retained many of the benefices up to that period, and of the Presbyterians, whose power had become very considerable, during the short triumph of Cromwell's party. The following account of this remarkable occurrence, taken from Gordon's History of Ireland, may serve to show how fortuitously was obtained

that revenue which has since accumulated so prodigiously, and which carries in its train such boundless influence.

"The king had assented to a request of the convention, that all impropriate and forfeited tithes and glebes, in his majesty's disposal, should be granted to the clergy; and that all escheated lands, now exempt from the payment of ecclesiastical dues, should be rendered liable to the same. Ministers of the presbyterian worship, some of whom, beside the Scottish clergy of Ulster, had gained possession of churches in Dublin and its neighbourhood, had petitioned the king for the establishment of their own system; and a petition to the same purpose was promoted in the army. But Charles, by the advice of Ormond, the steady friend of the episcopal clergy, instead of trusting to the sense of a new parliament, composed in a great measure of puritans, filled immediately the four archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics with the most eminent of the clergy of Ireland. As their patents and consecration were delayed for some months, till a new great seal should be prepared, and as the delay was imputed by the enemies of episcopacy to an *irresolution or reluctance of the king*, a second petition in favour of the Presbyterians was drawn by the military officers, and signed by great numbers in various departments, civil and military. Coote and Major Bury, who then administered the kingdom, with the title of Commissioners of Government, agreed to suppress this petition, at the instance of Coote, who discovered in the style of the officers an aversion to monarchy; and in the administration of the new lords-justices the consecration was performed with *triumphal pomp* to the great mortification of the many puritans, who had laboured with all their might against the episcopal establishment."

The intrigues of factious persons in England, and of their

interested partisans in Ireland, rendered the latter years of Ormond's administration agitated and unhappy, from the numerous and unproved assertions of dangerous and hostile combinations of the Catholics to regain their lost possessions and influence in public affairs. Although the prudent measures of the Lord-Lieutenant maintained tranquillity, it could not guard against the proceedings which were secretly in progress, encouraged and supported by the duke of York, more out of hatred to his personal enemies than from a sense of duty to promote the prosperity of any class of the population. It was such narrow selfishness and headlong bigotry that led to the Revolution, and subsequently caused his expulsion from the realm.

CHAPTER IV.

EVENTS ATTENDING THE ACCESSION OF JAMES II.

THE circumstances which attended the accession of James II. were not likely to ensure to the subject those beneficial consequences flowing from the government of a prince respected by the people; but James was even more than not respected: he had the misfortune to incur the hatred of a powerful party in England, on account of his open avowal of being a Catholic; and while he came strongly recommended to the majority of the Irish by the profession of their religion, he was equally dreaded by the wealthy and powerful minority, who were determined to risk any thing rather than support his goverment. There was therefore no hope of unanimity between the monarch and the subject. England was decidedly Protestant, and could not be expected to submit easily to a Catholic king; for where torture and death had been recently inflicted for the crime of popery, and the flame of fanaticism had not been quite extinguished, the king who upheld a religion contrary to that of the state could not be long the ruler of that nation. The case was far different in Ireland; the dislike to James rested on grounds much more solid than that of religious prejudice, for property was almost at stake.

Ireland, like England, had its Protestant aristocracy, possessed of nearly all the territorial value of the island; with them were associated in power, the consequence of property, the dissenters, who had reaped the benefit of the

plantation schemes: both kept the original proprietors of the soil in a state of degradation and disability favourable to their mutual security. This they effected by means of their own parliament,—and they took care to make that assembly consist only of themselves.

Where property is wanting, efficiency is obviously precluded. Intention is useless, destitute of the energy of means. The mass of the people Ireland, Catholic invariably, from the first impression of Christian belief, was neutralized in effort, being rendered powerless from the loss of estate. The convulsions of protracted and petty warfare had thrown individual interest to the surface, and rendered them "the scum of earth:" they merely vegetated. Deprived of the influence arising from a participation in framing laws, their existence as a component part of the body politic was next to imaginary,—it was all but deniable;—more,—they bore the characteristic of obnoxiousness, being a monument of the injustice long exercised against them.

Had James the good sense to know and understand all this, and a sense of honour becoming his situation, he would not, on his abdication of the English crown, have disturbed the melancholy repose of the fallen, the helpless, the vainly loyal; he would not have dared to shelter his incapacity in the remains of ruined honesty, nor fling himself for support into the arms of those who, by the miserable tampering and chicanery of his predecessors, had been rendered incapable of supporting themselves. The fate of James was sealed when he started in his flight*

* When King James fled from the Boyne, he was received with compassionate attention by the duchess of Tyrconnell, at the castle of Dublin. His Majesty peevishly complained of his Irish troops, charging them with cowardice, and running away. The reply of her Grace was

before William,—a man consistent, brave, and fortunate,—more fortunate, with regard to Ireland, than he deserved to be.

The folly of the Irish Catholics in adhering to James was fairly measured by the extent of his ingratitude. With a perverseness becoming his ignorance, he drew many of them to his ignominious exile, glossing his disgrace and their delusion by deceitful promises which could never be fulfilled, which, moreover, his cowardice had rendered nugatory. His conduct in Ireland was as ridiculous as impotent; his measures there to raise a party irretrievably fallen were useless to his hopes, and destructive of theirs, being calculated by his interested and inimical advisers, for instance, Clarendon, to rouse a hostility not inclined to slumber. The following passage is in the very best style of that sort of feeling which would describe motives of retaliation at such a time: —

"While James and his power lingered in Ireland, he assembled a pseudo-parliament. He had chosen the members; he chose the measures — 1st, the act of repeal, justifying all rebellion, breaking all faith; 2d, the act of attainder, proscribing thousands by name, and millions * by inference; 3d, the act for liberty of conscience, licence to the papists,

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indignantly severe. "Your Majesty had the advantage of the best of them," said she, alluding to his being the first to carry tidings of his own defeat. It is remarkable that the Irish language contains no word to signify coward. The term applied to the timidity of James at the battle of the Boyne implies the quintessence of fear operating on the body.

* Does the writer of this elegant illusion speak of the population of Ireland then existing? He ought to be aware that the population of all Ireland did not then exceed *one* million. If he mean by the term "*inference*" millions yet unborn, how does the converse of his argument apply?

hardship to the reformed. The whole closed with the subversion of established institutions, dilapidation of churches, spoliation of bishopricks, denunciation, plunder, and oppression of the whole protestant community." *

The final ruin of James was retarded by the same means as that of Charles I., namely, the Catholic soldiery, but with both the result was greatly different. The one lost his crown, and is deemed a martyr, because his head accompanied the diadem: the other saved his head, and gained everlasting disgrace. The victorious William won from the brave supporters of his father-in-law uncontrolled predominance for his protestant adherents, and secured possession of the vacated throne by a treaty with his gallant and only remaining opponents. Of this treaty, the last effort of that party, brief notice must be taken, not merely on account of its own merits, but for the moral importance it maintains in the history of Ireland.

However opinion may differ on speculative points, truth remains pure in its abstract and immortal character. The generations of mankind that have passed away have left their reputation subject to investigation, and human power is but the obstruction of a shadow, when the eternal majesty of history, whose judgment is ever present, however it may be shunned, comes to fix its indelible stamp upon the thing that has been done. The treaty of Limerick is before every one who knows aught of Irish affairs, and should be read by all who wish to form an opinion on a subject of so much importance as the welfare of millions of of fellow-men.

It is worthy of observation, that almost every period of Irish affairs from its first connection with England, has

* State of Ireland, past and present.

been marked with continual wars, invariably on account of property, and these have been more or less bloody in proportion as the contending forces were numerous or few. The resources of the invaded had to grow up among themselves, under peculiar disadvantages, and lost their efficacy for want of unity of views and action; whilst those of the invaders had all the accessions which a superior population and a concentrated policy could bring into the field: hence the success of the one was desultory and defective, that of the other progressive and secure.

The weakness of James, a papist, made a way for the succession of William, a protestant, and each was adulated and publicly prayed for as his arms prevailed; — the protestant and presbyterians of large estate remained, in general, indifferent spectators of the dispute, because they knew of James's unwillingness to repeal the act of settlement, and they were sure of protection under William in the event of his success. The princely rivals were alike supported by foreign aid and civil dissension: the catholics who upheld James had nought but numerical force, and the protestants of Ireland who fought for William were not of the great landed class: that description of persons was satisfied with what they had already gained; the soldiers of William's army were men of more humble character, but, like their wealthy precursors, were strongly actuated by the ambition of spoil, and there still remained wherewith to gratify their aims, and urge them to exertion.

The authority of the late earl of Clare has been already cited as unquestionable evidence of the measures pursued in determining the eventful transfer of property in Ireland: the following concise exposition shall conclude the subject; it was given in the progress of that eminent lawyer's speech on the Union in 1800. The importance of the

matter may serve as apology for the length of the quotation. " After the expulsion of James from the throne of England, the old inhabitants made a final effort for the recovery of their ancient power, in which they were once more defeated by an English army; and the slender relicks of Irish possessions became the subject of fresh confiscation. From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England in 1698, it appears, that the Irish subjects, outlawed for the rebellion of 1688, amounted to three thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight, and that their Irish possessions, as far as could be computed, were of the annual value of two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds; comprising one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was sold under the authority of an English act of parliament, to defray the expences incurred by England in reducing the rebels of 1688, and the sale introduced into Ireland a new set of adventurers.

" It is a very curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at eleven millions forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures:

	Acres.
" In the reign of James I. the whole of the province of Ulster was confiscated, containing - - - -	2,836,837
Set out by the Court of Claims at the restoration - - - -	7,800,000
Forfeiture of 1688 - - -	1,060,792
	11,697,629

" So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII., but recovered their possesions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice in the course of a century. THE SITUATION, THEREFORE, OF THE IRISH NATION, AT THE REVOLUTION, STANDS UNPARALLELED IN THE HISTORY OF THE INHABITED WORLD. *If the wars of England carried on here, from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy,* THE INHABITANTS WOULD HAVE RETAINED THEIR POSSESSIONS UNDER THE ESTABLISHED LAW OF CIVILIZED NATIONS, *and their country had been annexed as a province to the British empire.*"

An illustration confirmatory of the truth of the noble Earl's concluding observations is to be seen in the instance of Canada, which country is peopled with Catholics, and by the fortune of war came under British dominion; and although the inhabitants, being allowed the profession of faith to which they have been accustomed, have retained their possessions unimpaired, still are they most firmly and ardently attached subjects.* Had England been less covetous of the Irish acres, and left the conscience of the people free,

* The same remark applies most forcibly to the inhabitants of the island of Minorca, who, throughout the period they were subjects of Great Britain, enjoyed the full protection of the laws,— their religion and property being held in every respect inviolable. Their attachment has been, and still is enthusiastic. Even at the present day, although subject to another country, they evince an undiminished partiality to the English; and, on many recent occasions, they have manifested a grateful and friendly feeling for the benefits they formerly experienced under British government.

how prosperous and happy would Ireland now be, instead of being a reproach to the policy which first plundered, then brutalized her population with poverty and ignorance!

In the unnatural contest between James and William, a singular combination of contradictory circumstances presents itself. The formerly rival kings of France and England were on one side associated to restore a prince who had made an abdication of his throne; arrayed against him were his own children and his son-in-law, whose greatest efforts were directed to perpetuate his exclusion. James hired 5000 French troops to fight for him in Ireland, without a *sous* to pay them, whilst William engaged a considerable force of French Protestants to maintain his pretensions; and at the same time James weakened his cause by permitting 5000 of the finest Irish Catholic soldiers to be drawn into France to oppose the confederate forces in the Netherlands. James fled from his Irish friends to rise to the splendid ignominy of a saint, and left the husband of his daughter to take up the irksome care of the English sceptre which he had flung away.

General de Ginckle, who commanded in chief under William, in obedience to the king's commands, unwillingly pursued the war to Limerick, where the last stand was made by the Irish army, headed by Sarsfield, Lord Lucan, who had succeeded to the chief command after the death of the French general St. Ruth, and the defeat at Aughrim.

William had tried the Irish forces more than once; he saw their bravery at the Boyne; he was sensible of the compliment paid to his skill and courage in that engagement by their offer of fighting the battle over again if both armies were to exchange kings; he knew these were men worthy of a generous enemy, and he wished to do them justice. The exigency of his affairs demanded decision.

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The French were masters of the seas, and a powerful armament with fresh troops was hourly expected. The delay of the war might be ruinous to his hopes. He therefore proposed terms to the Irish highly favourable to their prejudices, and in some degree beyond their expectation; namely, full exercise of their religion; half the churches of Ireland, half the employments civil and military, and a moiety of the forfeited estates. These terms were transmitted to the Lords Justices in order that they should be forthwith proclaimed. At this juncture the Irish army, pressed by the besiegers without, and embarrassed by discontent against the French allies within the walls of Limerick, capitulated to the English army.

The Lords Justices being apprised of this unexpected event, smothered the king's proclamation, which has been since called the "*secret* proclamation," because although printed it never was published, hastened down to Limerick, that they might hold the Irish to as hard terms as the circumstances of the moment would admit. The civil articles of the treaty show clearly how well they effected their purpose.* They will be perused with interest; but

* *The Civil Articles of Limerick, exactly printed from the Letters Patent; wherein they are ratified and exemplified by their Majestics, under the Great Seal of England.*

Gulielmus et Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, rex et regina, fidei defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem: inspeximus irrotulament. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicessimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the third day of October last past, made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there on the one part: and several officers there, commanding within the city of

as the military articles have little reference to the subject now under consideration, they are here omitted.

Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part. Whereby our said justices and general did undertake that we should ratify those articles, within the space of eight months or sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenor of which said articles is as follows, viz.

Articles agreed upon the third day of October, one thousand six hundred and ninety-one,

Between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Conningsby, Esq. Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the English army; on the one part;

And the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garrett Dillon, and Colonel John Brown; on the other part:

In the behalf of the Irish Inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo,

In Consideration of the Surrender of the City of Limerick, and other Agreements made between the said Lieutenant-General Ginckle, the Governor of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Irish Army, bearing Date with these Presents, for the Surrender of the said City, and submission of the said Army: it is agreed, That,

I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland: or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those authorised by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have

By this celebrated treaty, it will be seen that the king's government guaranteed the full enjoyment of religious

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taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; and they and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any one of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the reign of king Charles II. or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of king Charles II. and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in this article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them: and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, and calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles II.; provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not borne arms since their Majesties' declaration in February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz. Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments

freedom to the Catholics of Ireland, and, in the words of the most important article, — " all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and

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in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their Majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of king James II. and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords justices, and general, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

interests, privileges and immunities, which they and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully or lawfully

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VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave their houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. And whereas colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel, and Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts; and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army: for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagements, passed on their public account, for payment of the said protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices, and the said baron De Ginckle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accompts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the

entitled to in the reign of Charles II." Scarcely, however, was this sacred compact determined, when it was discovered

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said Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,

CHAR. PORTER.
THO. CONINGSBY.
BAR. DE GINCKLE.

Present,
SCRAVEMORE.
H. MACCAY.
T. TALMASH.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said justices, and general, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided

that a fatal interpolation had been subsequently made in the act which was to confirm this treaty, without the knowledge or concurrence of the Irish; and this on one side has been used for the purposes of infraction, and with the other has ever since been a just subject of loud and reiterated complaint.

The interpolation complained of is thus described by Mr. Parnell, in his history of the penal laws against the Irish Catholics, p. 25. "The clause of the act (9 W. 3. c. 2. passed in confirmation of the treaty of Limerick,) corresponds with the articles, except in these most material points; after the word '*inheritance*,' the stop, instead of being a semicolon, as it is in the original treaty, is altered to a comma; and, after the words '*privileges and immunities*,' the words '*to the said estates*,' are inserted; and thus the meaning of the second article is wholly altered, and the words 'rights, privileges, and immunities,' made to refer to the estates of the Catholics, instead of to their persons and liberties, to which only by the original article they can refer." Promise between man and man is the simplest form in which justice is delegated from its eternal Author; — forms may bind; intention binds still more.

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always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of Chancery in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. Witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor, predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis et dominiæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per præsentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testimus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos. { S. KECK. LACON. WM. CHILDE. } In Cancel. Magistros.

Bad, indeed, must that state of society be wherein neither form nor intention in the same transaction can be a security against injustice.

The violation of the treaty was evidently not in unison either with the king's private opinion with respect to religious toleration, nor of justice regarding the estates of the Irish concerned in the capitulation: he had always sent instructions to his government in Ireland to adhere strictly to the stipulations of the treaty, "*for his word and honour were engaged, which he never would forfeit.*" But William soon found that in the aristocracy there was "a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself." The Irish parliament, regardless of the king's declared wishes, and the express terms of the treaty, commenced a warm proscription of the Catholics' civil rights, revived penalties already obsolete, and enacted new, with an eagerness worthy of a better cause.

The articles of Limerick allowed the free and full exercise of the Catholic religion; the acts of William and Mary forbade it. The treaty gave to the Irish, as the Catholics were called, the use of arms for the protection of their persons and property; the parliament deprive them of that stipulated security, and left them defenceless before petty insult: and (will it be believed?) it was made penal for them to cut their victuals with knives exceeding a certain length in the blade! Their children were debarred from receiving education unless under Protestant masters. Should any of them be found upon a horse worth more than five pounds, he was compelled to sell him for that price to the first Protestant who should take a liking to him! The possession of property was guaranteed as it stood in the time of Charles II., but the measures pursued by the parliament of William struck away one of

its sacred guards, that of the will of a dying man who would bequeath his property to his son. Should the profits of a farm be found at any time to exceed one-third of the rent, all improvements only tended to show the treasonable intention of the occupier, — he was therefore deprived of his lease.

To disarm a supposed enemy is an act of prudence; to weaken him by abstracting the means of resistance, is justifiable in its severity, because of its apprehended necessity; but to debase his mind, by tearing from him the benefits of education, is grovelling and brutal despotism. The 7 W. 3. c. 4. makes instruction, domestic or foreign, distinctly penal. Burke has thus expressed his opinion of this mode of legislation; "I have ever thought the prohibition of the means of improving our rational nature, to be the worst species of tyranny that the insolence and perverseness of mankind ever dared to exercise."

It was enacted at this memorable period, that papists teaching school publicly, instructing in a private house, or being ushers to protestant school-masters, should be transported out of the kingdom, on pain of death if they returned; thus placing this useful and harmless class of men on the same scale of proscription with the Catholic clergy. Rewards, also, as in cases of housebreakers, highwaymen, and other such violators of the *laws*, were offered for the persons thus condemned to perpetual banishment. These rewards were, for an archbishop, bishop, or persons exercising such jurisdiction, *fifty pounds*; for regular and secular priests, not registered, *twenty pounds*; and for a Catholic schoolmaster; *ten pounds*, to be levied on the Catholics of the county wherein such offenders should be found.

Laws like these, which would deprive the dying man of

every consolation, which would bury his survivor in the darkest ignorance, alike destructive of all that can elevate human nature, with impious cruelty shutting out celestial light from the departing spirit and the infant soul, might be sufficient to characterise the policy of that sad time as barbarous in the extreme, but a still harsher feature remains to be pourtrayed. The dearest ties of social life were rent by the pressure of those unnatural enactments. Marriage was forbidden between Protestant and Catholic, and the sorest disqualifications followed disobedience. A fundamental blow, levelled at the very existence of that religion, which the first article of the treaty had solemnly recognized and sanctioned, was aimed to deprive them of their priests; for those ministers of religion were formally banished, and death was their inevitable punishment if they presumed to return. It was enacted also, with absurdity truly astonishing, that even the rites of sepulture should be denied under certain circumstances.

"The justices were likewise empowered to levy a fine of ten pounds upon any person present at the burial of a corpse in a suppressed monastery, abbey, or convent, not used for the celebration of the service of the church of Ireland: the one-half for the informer, the other for the use of the parish. They were also directed to issue their warrants for suppressing all monasteries, friaries, nunneries, or other popish fraternities or societies, and to give an account of their proceedings to the next quarter-sessions, under penalty of 100*l.*, and perpetual disability to comply with this or any other provision of the act (9 W. 3.)." *

One consequence highly injurious to the general interests of the nation attended these unwise and unnecessary

* Brown's Historical Account of Penal Laws.

proceedings; vast numbers of useful subjects were compelled to quit the country on account of the treatment they endured; and upwards of fourteen thousand brave men availed themselves of the treaty, and withdrew from their oppressors, bidding an eternal farewell to their native soil, leaving it a melancholy waste to those who wished to render it such. By a reference to the register of the war-office of France, it appears that, "from the year 1691 to the year 1745, inclusive, four hundred and fifty thousand Irish enlisted under the banners of France." Those who remained fell into a listless and sullen obsequiousness, apparently submissive, but yet not so; for how could such a state of things be well imagined? Human nature must be divested of its noblest attributes, if treatment such as the Irish then experienced could have impressed no remembrance of its injuries.

The triumphant party sought to elevate themselves upon the ruin of the depressed, and they succeeded; but left to succeeding generations much cause to regret their short-sighted and preposterous conduct. Grattan has said, "the nation that insists on the humiliation of another, is a foolish nation;" and the Irish aristocracy soon found that their facility in seconding the views of the English parliament, and in re-enacting their statutes in the trifling matter of the penal laws against the Catholics, was likely to be converted into a means of their own debasement.

The party in England which had succeeded in asserting their independence and liberty, now sought to deprive Ireland of the share of independence and pretensions to liberty obtained in the recent struggle; the restriction of the woollen manufacture which William had pledged himself to discourage in favour of England, was only a prelude

to further encroachments, until, at length, Ireland was treated as if she had not a parliament of her own: England completely usurped the right of legislating for both countries. The woollen manufacture was naturally the staple fabric of Ireland, as has been observed, on account of the richness of the pasture and the mildness of the climate; yet these gifts of nature were rendered useless, and the trade was altogether prohibited, except in coarse frizes.

The selfishness of England in this respect became its own punishment. The manufacturers of the south of Ireland having been thrown out of employment, by the suppression of their trade, emigrated to France and other countries by thousands, where their skill and industry conferred additional wealth and improvement, whilst their countrymen at home secretly supplied them with the material, which was now useless to Ireland, but which England by her monopoly, would have secured to herself. Thus the demand for English cloth, which it was calculated would increase by the prohibition of Irish manufacture, became superseded by the fabrics of France, by which means thousands of pounds were annually lost to England, which would have been gained had Ireland been allowed a share of honest competition.

This encroachment on the interests of Ireland at length roused the ascendancy to a sense of its attempted humiliation. The patriotic *Molyneux* wrote his book in defence of the privileges and independence of the Irish parliament: this spirited performance so incensed the English parliament, that it was made the subject of inquiry in a special committee; was condemned as of dangerous tendency, and, by command of the English government, was burned by the common hangman, because it asserted that, *the kingdom of Ireland was as independent of the kingdom of England,*

as the latter was of the former. In this manner were the parliaments of the two countries committed one against the other; but that of England was studiously attentive to the advancement of trade and commerce, whilst that of Ireland, regardless of national prosperity, was combating for a shadow, and devising new methods to prevent the growth of popery.

Throughout the reign of Anne the parliament of Ireland amused itself in a strange display of independent principles, in which Protestant and Presbyterian, Whig and Tory, squabbling and scrambling for the emoluments of office, for they had the field to themselves, seemed to agree but in one point, namely, to swell the penal code against the unfortunate Catholics, who might now be supposed too humble for persecution. The mighty genius of SWIFT flung "*a tub to the whale*" of bigotry; but, not even the talents of that extraordinary man, and wisest of politicians, could retard the march of intolerance. In despite of the dazzling influence of his satire, which shed a comet's blaze upon the absurdity of the time, and of his sober advice, which commanded turbulent intemperance to pause, two acts were passed, which, from their despotic character, Mr. Burke designates "the ferocious acts of Anne."

By these acts the Catholics were disabled from the purchase of any lands, or interest in them, for a term beyond thirty-one years: and if property came by descent, by devise, or will, the next heir, if Protestant, might possess himself of it. Another provision inflicted an additional outrage on human nature, besides that relating to marriage; as it permitted a son, on becoming Protestant, to make his father tenant for life to his own estate, and thereby left him at the mercy of a child, who after such a step afforded little hope of filial affection. Lest any influ-

ence should attach to property that might remain unassailed from other causes, estates were ordered to descend in the manner of gavel-kind, in equal shares to all the children, notwithstanding any settlements to the contrary, unless the persons who should otherwise inherit would conform and take the usual oaths. The further ingenuity of their persecutors was directed with equal success to effect their exclusion from all share in the emoluments of office, from that of the lord-lieutenant to the meanest situation for which payment was provided out of the public money; and such was the eagerness to legislate in this way, that the less the Catholics gave cause for persecution, the more indefatigable were the augmenters of the penal code; the one rising in gratuitous cruelty, in proportion as the other became more peaceful and submissive.

The last privilege of this unhappy class of the community was wrested from them by the same unfair procedure, namely, the right of presenting to ecclesiastical benefices, all advowsons being vested in the crown. But, as if the expatriation of their priests was not considered a sufficient means for the suppression of their religion, a premium of forty pounds a-year, was allowed to any clergyman of that persuasion who should conform to the established worship, besides allowing him the same clerical rank as he held before his recantation. This was, however, in a great measure a futile attempt, as the instances of conformity in this respect have been exceedingly rare, and whenever they have occurred, the moral character of the convert, or his motives, have seldom been considered meritorious. A modern anonymous writer, of strong judgment and considerable discernment, has given an opinion on this point, which seems not undeserving of attention.

"You may not be able to separate them from their own

church. They are connected with it by too many ties, — ties, which, whenever they exist, bind strongly the human heart. Their church makes a part of their history; it has shared in all the vicissitudes of their good or evil fortune; *it has drunk deeply of their almost exhaustless cup of bitterness.* It has clothed itself with their best affections; it has nestled in their tenderest sympathies, and intrenched itself in their most cherished recollections."* Yes, truly, experience has long proved, that, both priest and people, they are indissolubly wedded to their religious opinions, and every effort to break the association has only tended to make it more durable: such is the natural consequence of persecution.

The death of Anne gave the Irish Catholics a respite from these inhuman enactments: a breathing time was allowed amidst affliction, and their conduct proved the pacific character of their principles. The succession of the house of Brunswick was about to be disputed by the English and Scotch adherents of the Stuarts; and measures had been secretly taken in the latter years of the queen to facilitate the succession of her brother to the throne: but on that occasion, as well as in the actual rebellion in Scotland, in favour of the Pretender's son, the Irish Catholics remained quiet, nor did they make the most distant shew of interfering in the question. They had learned a fatal lesson from that family. The sorrowful experience which they acquired by their foolish attachment to the Stuart race had given them a disrelish to embarking in their cause again; and they very prudently left it to those who had an interest in its success.

Their forbearance could not, however, shelter them from

* Thoughts on Education.

obloquy; but, fortunately for the public tranquillity, by the calm and prudent management of the viceroy, the celebrated Lord Chesterfield, all the attempts of their enemies to rouse them into a rash expression of their feelings for the insults offered to their loyalty were defeated on their first appearance. That eminent statesman treated the Catholics, not as "common enemies," but encouraged them to persevere in their peaceable demeanour; he discountenanced all party distinctions; extended to them the full protection of the laws; restrained the spirit of persecution, and wisely avoided all violent measures that then could tend to excite disturbance, which many were anxious to promote, as likely to afford some fresh opportunity of benefiting by commotion. By these means, and without increasing the public expenditure, he was enabled to send reinforcements to the royal army, whilst all hopes of the Pretender with regard to aid from Ireland, were utterly disappointed, and the public tranquillity remained perfectly undisturbed.

This happy state of things was soon put an end to by Primate Stone, of infamous and detestable memory, — a wretch, whose unnatural vices and party virulence must not pollute this page. By this man's odious agency, the contests between the English and Irish interests were revived; and, as usual, fresh penal enactments fell to the lot of the unhappy Catholics.

The period of Irish history now under consideration, is curious in many points: it is far from being a "*blank.*" Englishmen, and the military adventurers who sought to promote the interest of *themselves* and England, at Ireland's expence, now first began to learn the divine maxim of reciprocal duty. Necessity began to wring them into reflection, and the immortal Swift taught them how to re-

flect. Not only had the wicked measures hitherto pursued, defeated their own ends, by making the Catholic body a paralyzed member of the constitution, but the selfish indolence which grew out of the inordinate accumulation of property, would not awake to that admirable wisdom which seeks its own and the public welfare by putting the population into healthy and industrious action.

The Irish gentry, with an apathy highly censurable, had long consigned the native peasantry to a state bordering on political annihilation; and it would almost seem that their very existence was a matter of trifling concern. Such was the dislike, in every thing that related to the Catholic population, and so strong, that, were it not for the absolute necessity of retaining them to cultivate the soil, any proposal which might facilitate their extirpation would not be looked upon with abhorrence. Mr. Burke has finely described this sort of feeling. "By the total reduction of the kingdom of Ireland in 1691, the ruin of the native Irish, and in a great measure too of the first races of the English, was completely accomplished. The new interest was settled with as solid a stability as any thing in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression, which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, *and were not at all afraid to provoke.* They were not the effects of their fears, but of their security. They, who carried on *this system*, looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for their support in their acts of power. They were quite certain, that no complaints of the natives would be heard on this side of the water with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries served only to

augment their torture. Machines, which could answer their purpose so well, must be of an excellent contrivance. Indeed, at that time, in England, the double name of the complainants, Irish and Papists, (it would be hard to say singly which was the most odious,) shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed in all its force to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular, just in proportion as it tended to harass and ruin a set of people, who were looked upon to be enemies to God and man; and, indeed, as a race of bigoted savages, who were a disgrace to human nature itself."

Prudence alone, were no other motive existing, would have advised some method of managing the Catholic population, besides retaining them for the express purpose of exercising ingenuity in framing laws to disqualify them for all the purposes of social life; for it must have been obvious, that no ordinance could prevent their augmentation in point of numbers, unless some such as that which was intended by the Irish House of Commons in 1723, as may be seen by reference to the journals, 2d October of that year. "In consonance with the repeated recommendations of the lord-lieutenant, (the Duke of Grafton,) the Commons came to eight violent resolutions against the Catholics, which passed without a dissentient voice; and thereupon leave was given to bring in heads of a bill, for explaining and amending the acts to prevent the further growth of popery, and for strengthening the Protestant interest in that kingdom. Heads of a bill were accordingly prepared, with a clause *for castrating every catholic clergyman that should be found in the realm.* The bill thus surcharged with this, worse than Gothic barbarism, was presented on the 15th of November, 1723, to the lord-lieutenant by the

commons at the castle, and they most earnestly requested his Grace *to recommend the same in the most effectual manner to his Majesty*, humbly hoping from his Majesty's goodness and his Grace's zeal for his service, and the Protestant interest of that kingdom, that the same might be obtained to pass into a law. It was transmitted to England, and for the honour of humanity there suppressed with becoming indignation." *

It need not be a matter of surprise that the *enlightened* legislators, who passed the penal laws against the marriage of a Catholic and Protestant, by which the inhabitants of the island were to be two distinct nations for ever, would be desirous of enacting the above measure if they could. Neither is it at all necessary to prove the unreasonableness or folly of such an ignorant proceeding, by shewing, that to lay such a restriction on catholic priests, to prevent the increase of that *dangerous* class of men, was quite superfluous, because their religious vows imposed upon them a restraint infinitely more efficacious than any act the legislature could contrive.

Whilst the care of parliament was thus notably directed against the clergy, the peasantry were silently and rapidly increasing in number. Oppression compelled them to cherish unnoticed obscurity, and there, in the midst of poverty, with which they had been long familiar, and of which they seemed proverbially fond, they multiplied in an amazing degree. Although their situation was still remarkable for "uncleanness in apparel, diet, and lodging, and a contempt and scorn of all things necessary to the civil life of man †," still their inherent and hereditary disposition to obey the great law of nature, and a peculiar buoyancy of temper that gave solace under the severest

* Plowden's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 78. † Davies's Tracts.

privation, made them surmount every hardship; and the result was an extraordinary redundance of population.

Notwithstanding the direct operation of the Reverend Mr. Malthus's "extremely various *positive checks*," such as, "severe labour and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, pestilence, plague, and famine*;" the population of the island kept on increasing at a rate unparalleled in any portion of Europe. This increase, however, began to be felt as a calamity, not from any defect in the supply of food, for the fertility of the soil appears inexhaustible; nor from any additional stretch given to the natural duration of human life; but from other causes, of a moral nature.

The impolitic measure of suppressing the woollen manufacture, and consequently of securing to England a monopoly of that branch of trade, threw the population back upon the resources of agriculture; whilst almost every kind of foreign demand, except corn, wool, cattle and their products: this principally affected the southern counties, where the population, the agricultural class especially, was almost exclusively of the Catholic persuasion. In the north the case was somewhat different: there the majority of the people, a great many of whom were Protestants, were engaged in the linen manufacture, and cultivation of the soil was of far less importance. Both of these classes were pressed upon by the demand for tithe, which operated with equal hardship, but in a different way. In the south

* In the summer of 1650, 17,000 persons died of the plague in Dublin; and in 1728 a scarcity of corn was severely felt in the northern counties, where the inhabitants, chiefly employed in the linen manufactures, increased so rapidly, as to send off every year an emigration of more than 3000 persons to North America.

a tenth part of the crop, or an equivalent in money, swallowed not only a tenth of the poor man's property, but a tenth of his time and industry: in the north the industrious weaver was in some measure safe from that exaction, but he had to complain of the agistment-tithe which made a demand for cattle. The ecclesiastical establishment had a right to the provision which had been secured by law; the inability and unwillingness of one party urged the other to insist upon their legal right, and parliament (1735) threw in its omnipotent preponderancy, and by a resolution of the House of Commons, wiped away the tithe of agistment, which resolution was long a custom, and afterwards became law.

This boon was undoubtedly a relief to the Protestant tenant, and lessened his inclination to emigrate, a practice then quite common, to get away from enormous rents and heavy lease fines; but it threw the burden with increased weight upon the agricultural class, leaving the more profitable and wealthy portion of the soil absolutely free of tithe; and in this instance the legislature evidently promoted their own interest at the expence of the humble and laborious peasantry. The Catholic, however, clung to the soil amidst domestic misery; the Protestant in manly sorrow turned his back upon the scene of his affliction, and abandoned those fields in which he could not obtain comfort or competency, carrying his arts and arms to the regions of North America, where he afterwards secured that independent superiority which was ever the object of his ambition.*

* It may not be undeserving of note, that, in the nobly contested action between the English and United States frigates, the GUERRIERE and CONSTITUTION, most of the crew of the latter were born and brought up in the neighbourhood of Rathfryland, — a spot more distinguished for peaceful loyalty, and less agitated by Orangeism than any other in the

The evil pressure thus produced upon agriculture, as it affected the great mass of the Catholic peasantry, who were literally reduced to a situation worse than that of the Helotes of ancient Greece, pining in slavery amidst a people opulent and exulting in the enjoyment of civil liberty, so it bore with accumulated grievance, until discontent and want combined in irresistible impulse, and drove the people into desperate but ineffectual resistance to the severe exactions imposed upon their industry.

So long as pecuniary distress did not visit the mansion of the landlord, or wealthy proprietor, the complaint of the peasant might be uttered with impunity; the tithe, too, might be claimed, and enforced by an expensive and odious process at law, because the law-makers had *resolved* to relieve themselves of every concern on that account; still the distress that pursued the poor man's toil remained unalleviated, and illegal combination, with outrage, followed, and no parliamentary investigation or inquiry into the exciting causes was made; or, however well those causes must have been known, no remedy was attempted to be applied.

The attention of Parliament had been long engaged with contests between privilege and prerogative. The great lords had long engrossed the legislative powers by their means of bringing in majorities on almost every question. A party denominated *patriots* rose between the landed interest and the government, and the pension list obtained for administration that *influence* which subsequently has

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north of Ireland. Although that action terminated in the loss of the Guerriere, it is not meant to cast the slightest shade on the character of the officers and crew by whom she was defended. They fought till their ship sunk under them. Sparta never produced braver men. They contended against superior numbers, — men equally brave: "When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war."

carried all before it. Among these party struggles the country in general was the sufferer; nothing was secured to promote industry or trade, and national poverty was the result: the government had its patronage; the landed interest its monopoly; the patriots their popularity, and the peasantry their midnight maraudings, barbarities, and secret associations, as Whiteboys, Hearts of Oak, and Hearts of Steel. A brighter and happier era commenced with the reign of George III.

CHAPTER V.

ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.

In the preceding historical observations, the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland have necessarily engaged a large share of attention; larger, perhaps, than some will think they deserved. This objection was foreseen, but could not be obviated. The elicitation of truth has been already stated as the object of this inquiry, which has been prosecuted with unbending impartiality, — with perfect disregard as to whom it may chance to please or offend. The Catholics always constituted the great body of the people in Ireland; — they once possessed the whole of its property; — and still, though stripped of their ancient possessions and national honours, they form a vast *numerical* majority of the population, which, in spite of every check, is rapidly increasing. They have ever formed so prominent a feature in the character of that country, that it is impossible to refer to it in any way without including them. This is not offered by way of apology to any party. Wretched indeed must be the state of that country where the humblest advocate of justice should find it necessary to apologize for honesty of intention. Such, it is conceived, would be as insulting to the judgment as libellous on the understanding of the liberal and enlightened of the present day.

"The end and purpose of all government being the advantage, safety, and happiness of the community, the general discontent of the people is at all times an argument

of a defective constitution, or of misconduct in those to whom the administration is committed: when the latter is the case, a change of ministers will probably prove a remedy; but if the mischief lies deeper, and has its source in the constitution itself, a change of ministers will only serve to increase the public ill humour, and by exciting hopes which cannot be gratified, add the resentment of disappointment to the anguish of former grievances." *

The influence obtained by the government over the Irish parliament secured eminent advantages to the great body of the people; as it opened a door to improvement in just legislation, which had been too long closed by the rude hand of monopoly. It is well worthy of remark, that the government and parliament of England, seeing the opportunity suitable, were the first to listen to the sober dictates of reason, and to set the Irish legislature the example of relaxing the penal code; nor does it derogate from the merit of the change to say that the embarrassments of the times rendered such an amendment a matter of imperative necessity. That it was necessary, needs little proof, from the fact of the parliamentary negative put upon the proposed inquiry into the recent disturbances in Ulster and the south of Ireland, although it was expressly declared by the earl of Northumberland, the lord-lieutenant, that the matter of the recommendation came expressly from his majesty.

A moment of this nature was too important to be lost sight of: it involved consequences of a nature too serious to be overlooked. The dispute with the American colonies threatened to embrace Ireland in its effects, and the obstinacy of the aristocracy tended strongly to drive the

* Knox's State Papers.

people to make comparisons injurious to British interests. The policy of relaxing the penal code in Ireland became more obvious and pressing; and there appeared not one to contravene the opinion fearlessly advanced by Mr. Burke in the British senate, "that Ireland was now the chief dependence of the British crown, and that it particularly behoved this country to admit the Irish nation to the privilege of British citizens." The minister declared his wishes, in the most explicit manner, to relieve the oppressed Catholics of Ireland of what they justly complained against, but stated that it remained with the parliament of that country to grant the concessions which were required.

Even then the parliament of Ireland were obliged to be bought into concession, although the liberal expression of British freedom led the way. Negociations were then in progress to extend the commercial interests of Ireland, and it appeared too ungracious to ask concessions for themselves, whilst they withheld acknowledged rights from others. The prejudices of centuries were forced to give way before the vigour of honest opinion, and the first great relaxation of the penal laws was obtained, but only by a majority of nine in the house of commons, whilst in the lords it was carried by two-thirds of that assembly. The preamble of the act, which was brought in by Mr. Gardiner, is deserving of notice, as containing maxims of sound and incontrovertible policy; it stated, that the severities of the Act of Anne ought to be relaxed; that the Catholics of Ireland were excluded from, and ought to be admitted to the blessings of our free constitution; and that it would promote the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions, that the Catholics should be bounden to the Protestants by mutual interest and affection.

The provisions of this memorable enactment, which was

passed in 1778, gave the Catholics, on subscribing to the oath of allegiance and declaration prescribed, the right to take, enjoy, and dispose of leases for a term of 999 years, or five lives; and allowed that the possessor of lands or other property was entitled to hold them under the same limitations as any other subject of his majesty. Besides these civil advantages, the moral mischief was removed of a proselyte son having power to insult an offended or unoffending parent, by demanding a maintenance out of the personal estate. These were important acquisitions to the community for which they were intended, and gave stability to society, by removing one of the most dangerous principles of subversion, discontent.

Of the behaviour of the Catholics on occasion of this triumph of justice over antiquated error, Sir Lucius O'Brien, who took an active part on that occasion, gives the following gratifying testimony: "The Roman Catholics seem everywhere highly grateful for the benefits they have received, and yet *without any imprudent expressions of their joy:* the principle ones of them everywhere come to the assizes to take the oaths to his majesty; and if it be thought necessary, the whole body of the people might be brought to do the same by the next session."

In addition to the pecuniary embarrassments arising out of the ordinary expences of the government, and a diminished revenue, produced by the war with the American colonies, England was compelled to meet the exigencies of a new war with France and Spain, who took advantage of the contest with America, to insult the British power. Never was a more noble proof of the salutary genius of the constitution than was then displayed. A spontaneous evolution of patriotic devotion, evinced by all classes of the people in the *volunteer association*, prevented at once the

dread of threatened invasion from the combined fleets of the enemy; but perhaps also saved England the danger of a dismemberment of her territory, by a separation total and destructive to the empire. Still greater advantage to the cause of independence and British freedom was obtained by the same glorious effort; for all internal dissension was so effectually allayed or forgotten, that it might be safely asserted, not one domestic enemy was to be found within the shores of Ireland: never indeed before were the laws at any time administered with greater strictness or efficacy, — never were they more willingly obeyed; the nation seemed to be so actuated with a generous flame of loyal unanimity.

Assuming a confidence which such a state of security fully warranted, the patriotic party in the Irish parliament, who had now gained a second victory of liberal principles, obedient to the voice of the nation, and supported by the volunteers, who spoke as one man, carried, by a unanimous vote, an address to the king, in which they strongly represented to his majesty the necessity of a free trade, as the only means of saving the nation from impending ruin: and this expression of the will and wishes of the people of Ireland was carried in grand procession by the speaker to the viceroy, all the streets from the parliament house to the castle being lined by the Dublin volunteers, drawn up under arms, in full uniform, and commanded by the duke of Leinster. The whole force of the volunteer association then amounted to forty-two thousand men, and this formidable body, which existed *per se*, was not composed of mercenaries, but consisted of the nobility, gentry, merchants, citizens, and respectable yeomanry, ready to devote their time, property, and lives, if needed, in the protection and security of the country.

The success of this proceeding was followed by a more substantial pledge of prosperity, when in 1782 the parliament of Ireland was put into the same state of independence, with regard to the powers of legislation, as that of Great Britain; and in the following year this important measure, cleared of some constructive doubts, was finally determined to the general satisfaction. This is one of the pillars of that imperishable edifice which the genius of GRATTAN erected to his own immortal name.

In the history of this singular nation, the event just noticed is not the least memorable. Property had been essentially transferred, and it became irrevocably so, as well by the nature of the transfer, as by the duration of possession, by the new and important interests to which it gave rise, and also the disabilities which the prudential fears of the new proprietors imposed upon the old. The "force of things" induced the consideration that territory is of little value without inhabitants. Now came to conviction that best principle of polity, that population is the real wealth of a state; and with this conviction came also the persuasion, that a population so great as that of Ireland, if kept in a state of inactive degradation, and gifted with extraordinary sensibilities, might be found ample and dangerous material for political agitators to work upon.

That there were persons at this period studious to avail themselves of these circumstances is notorious. But these men deceived themselves. They seemed to forget the conduct of the Irish Catholics when the Pretender made his last effort in Scotland; when Lord Chesterfield was Viceroy in Ireland. They appeared strangers to the principles of the Catholic faith, which binds to obedience so severe, that some would call it *blind*. No; they are averse to *revolution* of any kind. Every attempt, therefore, to excite

this body to isolated views has been defeated. Even their enemies, and God knows they have had such,—they have many such still,—ignorantly so, must allow that temptation loses all inducement when at variance with their principles of loyal attachment. A people so constituted, and consisting of millions, is a mass not easy to be moved. To effect such an end, motives more powerful than is in the compass of individual ingenuity must be applied;—it must be done by a government. Who then, in the present instance, were the agitators,—for such there were, with the example of North America before them? This question unfolds itself in the history of the subsequent years. Let us review a little of the past.

The state of society in Ireland had begun to settle into something like a nation; the field, long fattened with the blood of the occupants, was beginning to feed their more rational survivors with its exuberance; the enjoyment of peace, interrupted only by the envious steel, overspread the country with the treasures of population; augmented industry, the natural result of increased population,—for man is by nature not a sluggish animal,—every where diffused life and energy. Through an abundance in things of comfort, convenience, or luxury, and the want of demand among his immediate neighbours, the industrious flung his superfluities away, or was careless of their reproduction. Such was the state of Ireland without a foreign market.

The civil victories obtained over commercial jealousy in 1782-3, gave free trade, and, in its advantages, the wished-for change. The national prosperity thence arising extended its blessings to the empire at large; Ireland would have derived peculiar benefits from fair competition, but the unnatural state of her society forbade the good, or

withheld it from becoming generally useful. The Catholic population, reduced to the peasant class almost to a man, was still held down by the bonds of the penal code; their last hold upon the constitution had been filched from them in the elective franchise, taken away by a silent amendment to a bill * in parliament, whilst the privileged portion, consisting of all not Catholic, were too few to constitute a nation on a modern statistic scale. Some active members of the latter class, aware of this, sought to establish what they conceived a better order of things.

Among the reformers were men of moderation: these, honest and patriotic, wished to see a sounder mode of legislation than the old, made a basis for an improved state of society, by remodelling the laws already in the statute-books; because the error of a law once ascertained becomes the safest guide for its amendment: many, however, were eager to begin anew, and considered the existence of all ancient enactments an obstruction. The armed association of the volunteers presented a powerful aid to innovative effort, but the arm that would wield it was found too feeble. It was fortunate that the members of the volunteer ranks showed a reluctance to second the views of their factious leaders. The most reverend the Earl of Bristol, bishop of Derry, half military, half mad, would have relighted the torch of civil war; but the cool wisdom of the Irish Washington, Lord Charlemont, the venerable head of the volunteers of Ulster, prevailed, and the tranquillity of the country was preserved.

The seeds of civil confusion died not with the armed convention, which was sitting in Dublin at that period, under pretence of reforming the representation, but with

* 1 Geo. II. c. 9.

intent to overawe the parliament to comply with their commands, claimed an authority more subversive of national prosperity than the errors of that which it presumed to supersede. Unfortunately the great bulk of the nation had been thrown into ferment by the proceedings of that convention; the Catholics had been roused from almost hopeless degradation with a promise of the restoration of the elective franchise; whilst the ascendancy were awakened to the utmost degree of alarm, by the danger of such a distribution of popular right.

The peasantry of the south of Ireland, "ground to powder," as the late earl of Clare described them, "by enormous rents," had become unable to pay the merciless demands made upon their industry. Besides the pressure of a tenth part of their labour, required for the support of the church establishment, a rent of six pounds per acre superadded to their domestic wants, was inadequately met by the pittance of five-pence a day for their work, allowed them by their landlords. Driven to despair by extreme wretchedness, and relief lying far beyond hope, they sought the melancholy enjoyment of common misery, to pour into each other's hearts the expression of mutual affliction.

Their meetings, at first harmless, soon grew into illegal combination. Their assemblies, unarmed and unresisting, were perfectly passive on the approach of any magistrate, who might, without a shadow of molestation, remove from amidst thousands thus met together, any individual charged with crime. Their prominent complaint was on account of tithe, to which they objected, as being a demand for no specific equivalent; and in their determination to resist payment of this exaction, they administered oaths to one another to ensure co-operation. These proceedings

soon assumed a more alarming feature; for, not content with an endeavour to abolish tithe, their miscalculating and ignorant minds, taking the inauspicious silence of the gentry for connivance or timidity, presumed to dictate a lowering of the rents, and raising the price of labour. An act of the legislature for the prevention of tumultuous meetings, and illegal combinations, put an effectual stop to these rude speculations, and sent the peasantry back again to remediless repining, and unavailing discontent.

The state of the humbler classes of society in the northern parts of the kingdom was considerably improved at this time. There the cultivation of the linen trade gave full employment to the people, and industry kept pace with population. There, however, the great bane of social happiness to Ireland, religious animosity, involved that flourishing province in a most pitiable state of petty hostility, which spread rapidly in a disgusting and almost universal plague of sanguinary outrage. The regret and concern of every one interested in the public happiness was strongly expressed, but without avail. The old military habits of the *Peep-of-day boys*, so the Protestants and Dissenters, descendants of the planters in Ulster, were designated, from their hours of aggression, gave them a decided advantage over the *Defenders*, by which title the Catholics distinguished themselves: in this contemptible warfare it is not known that any person of note was concerned, if a few narrow-minded individuals in the magistracy be excepted.

These disturbances, however, soon became more serious, and lives were lost. The old proscription in the time of Cromwell was revived; and the assailants signified their intention to rid themselves of all obnoxious competition of their neighbours by fixing on the doors at night written

notices, warning them to quit that part of the country on pain of extermination. These notifications were laconic and significant, — "*To hell or to Connaught.*" Obedient to this alarming and well-understood admonition, the exiled Catholics, abandoning their habitations, sought the refuge pointed out to them, and transferred their industry, and their knowledge of the linen manufacture, into the wild heaths of Sligo and Mayo, where their progress has been proportionate to their perseverance.

By an unwise expedient resorted to at this period, namely, giving more than tacit encouragement to an illegal association styled *Orangemen*, the agitation of the public mind became extreme, and evils arose which have entailed the worst consequences on the country. "Terrible is the consequence of protecting crime. At the assizes of Armagh (1796), Colonel Sparrow was tried and found guilty of murdering a Mr. Lucas; upon his receiving sentence, he produced his Majesty's pardon to the court, and was instantly liberated. This greatly irritated the people; as did the encouragement given by government to Orangemen, in allowing them two guineas per man, for arms and accoutrements." *

An experience of ten years had proved the advantages expected to arise from the bloodless revolution of 1782. It had even exceeded expectation: it raised an increased desire to accomplish the reduction of that ponderous influence which weighed down almost every question submitted to parliamentary consideration. This led to popular discussion, which is not always correct, nor regulated by moderation. The unnatural state of the Catholics, still deprived of their most important privileges, and even

* Plowden's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 382.

branded with ignominy by the partiality shewn to the Orange association, afforded a means of giving discussion an interest otherwise unattainable. The patriots wanted a subject for argument, and the oppressions of the Catholic body were materials on which to found the most solid, and to display the most brilliant. Concession was universally though tacitly agreed on by all classes of respectable society, and the government ably anticipated the reformers. On that occasion, the staunchest of the whigs,—the most wise of the innovators, the most inflexible opposers of the Catholics, — allowed themselves to fall in with the stream of liberal opinion.

The Dungannon convention, composed of the representatives of one hundred and forty-three Protestant corps, had declared, that, "as Christians and Protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that they conceived the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of Ireland." The truly noble and enlightened Charlemont went further; he sacrificed "a borough, and a prejudice" on the altar of conciliation. For all this the Catholics were humble in their expression of gratitude; they had suffered, and had learned the language of servility; but they shewed no disposition to appear "triumphant:" such conduct would have been senseless and unbecoming, — as offensive as imbecile.

Some friends of the Catholics knowing their wants, anticipating their wishes, went beyond their hopes, and did mischief to their interests by giving offence to government. Burke, who was aware of their design, thus ably argues to that point: "If," said he, "whilst a man is dutifully soliciting a favour from parliament, any person should choose, in an improper manner, to show his in-

clination towards the cause depending; and if *that* must destroy the cause of the petitioner, then, not only the petitioner, but the legislature itself, are in the power of any weak friend, or artful enemy, that the supplicant, or that the parliament may have. A man must be tried by his own actions."

It was in 1778 that the parliament of England, in conformity with the gracious will of the king, gave the first flattering proof of toleration to the Catholics: in 1793 the concessions made by the Irish parliament obtained the approbation of the father of his people. His Excellency, the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord-lieutenant, on opening the session, assured the parliament that "he had it in particular command from his majesty to recommend it to them to apply themselves to the consideration of such measures as might be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's subjects, in support of the established constitution. With this view his majesty trusted, that the situation of his majesty's Catholic subjects would engage their serious attention; and in the consideration of this subject, he relied on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament." The favours thus conferred were the *elective franchise*, and relief from other disabilities, many of which,—for instance, admission into corporations, strange to say, were rendered nugatory by the bigoted obstinacy and mean monopoly of many individuals who still nursed their ancient prejudices, notwithstanding the strong expression of the royal will enforced by legislative authority.

The parliamentary proceedings in this year fully answered the benevolent intentions of his majesty, as appears from the speech of the lord-lieutenant at the close of the session, which opened with these remarkable words: "The

wisdom and liberality with which you attended to his majesty's recommendation in favour of his Roman Catholic subjects, are highly pleasing to the king." Who would deny pleasure to the royal mind arising from the good of his people, or wish to see the exercise of wisdom and liberality restricted? No one surely who is a friend to the national prosperity, or who wishes to promote the public happiness.

Ireland was ever considered a fertile field for innovation; the pernicious distinctions arising from religions opinions had been often made the means of perpetuating civil discord: the reformers of 1782 would have turned the activity of mind, which flourishes in such dissensions, to the general welfare; — the innovators of 1793, actuated by the dazzling delusions of the revolution in France, studied to withdraw the people from the government, and, by instituting the republican society of United Irishmen, endeavoured to palliate their purpose, pretending to have in view advantages more national than those derived from established laws, the benefits of which, though long experienced, they thought proper to misrepresent. The age was ripe for such designs, and the agitators were indefatigable, secret, and successful; but their success continued only so long as their secrets remained undiscovered.

The conspiracy began in Ulster: the leaders and chief partizans were persons of the classes of Protestants and Protestant-dissenters; the plans and principles of the society embraced the majority of both those classes in the north. Numbers of the Catholic population were induced to coincide with their views, although in most respects their interests were incompatible; but the more respectable and wealthy individuals of that body kept themselves prudently clear of the contagion. The notion, that "the Catholic

follows his spiritual leader into implicit treason*," had a refutation at this momentous period, when the catholic bishops, disavowing all connection between Catholics and the united Irishmen, presented an address to the lord-lieutenant, in December, 1793, to be transmitted to his majesty, expressive of their "unshaken loyalty, and grateful affection to his majesty's person and government." If the notion so hastily, yet prettily, advanced, have foundation in fact, fact is here presented as ground of refutation; and if the Catholic follow his spiritual leader implicitly, he follows him to the throne, to pour out his sentiments of gratitude and loyalty, and not to insult the royal presence with "implicit treason."

The movements of the innovators were not guarded enough to escape the vigilance of government, and the principle of division was employed to counteract their projects. The secession of the Protestants in the north, caused by agents acting under the influence of high authority, before the United Irishmen became an armed association, threw the directors of the conspiracy, contrary to their original intention, upon the Catholics as their chief resource; their numbers, bravery, and sufferings under the penal code affording strong hopes of their readily joining with the disaffected. Parliamentary reform, and Catholic emancipation were the ostensible pretexts under which the republicans rallied, and sheltered their ulterior designs.

Those Protestants who were made aware of the danger, assumed exclusive pretensions to loyalty, and began to form *Orange* Societies, an easy change of designation, and far more respectable, at least in sound, than the former one of *peep-of-day-boys*. These societies were organized and

* State of Ireland, past and present.

armed in perfect military order, intended to counteract the United Irish society, when it might be found necessary to call them into action. The volunteer association had been a dangerous precedent; for here the country witnessed a force anomalous and unknown to the constitution, ready in military array to take the field at a moment's notice; and thus a most mischevious bias took hold of the public mind as the prejudices of sect or party might incline. Thus feuds were formed, and animosities perpetuated, to the disgrace of the age, and the lasting infamy of the promoters of those odious combinations.

The characteristic caution of the northern withheld him from self-exposure, and gave security; the proverbial thoughtlessness of the southern left him open to deception and treachery. Extravagant promises, and plausible, but fallacious, representations had drawn the Catholics partially into the schemes of the Directory, and enabled those leaders to fill up their "constitutions*," at least, with names; but the great body of that class, notwithstanding, remained untainted, as appears from the Report of the Secret Committee of the Irish parliament, in which it is stated, that when a member of the Irish Directory was questioned regarding the repulse given by the peasantry to the French, on their appearance in Bantry Bay, in 1796, he confessed "*that the people were loyal because they were left to themselves.*"

That the revolutionary association did not consist of the Catholics may be decidedly asserted from the same important document. "With respect to parliamentary reform," proceeds the report, "your committee have to observe, that it was distinctly acknowledged by the persons, who, in their own phrase, have taken upon them to think for the

* Returns of the United Irishmen.

people, that no reform of parliament will satisfy them which does not necessarily involve in it the subversion of all ecclesiastical establishments, *Protestant or Popish*, and the gradual separation of this kingdom from the British crown." And again: "Your committee further allude to the insidious address used by the same faction, in turning to their purpose the religious feuds, prejudices, and distinctions of the country, which were revived principally by their wicked machinations *; at one time flattering the passions and hopes of the higher order of the Catholics, *at the moment in which they meditated their destruction*, and at another, stimulating the lower ranks to indiscriminate acts of outrage and vengeance against their loyal fellow-subjects."

Ireland was menaced with a dangerous convulsion, less from the volcano of revolutionary matter, than a conspiracy against her peace and independence more deeply laid, more dangerously devised. Political movements of the cabinet and smothered agitations of dark intrigues forboded the tremendous storm. The political atmosphere resembled the appearance of the natural before a hurricane, — lurid, and still. The presence of a just, merciful, and enlightened Viceroy, it was expected, would dispel the gloom. On the Earl Fitzwilliam every eye was fixed; in his measures every heart anticipated the fulfilment of the nation's hopes and wishes. The cup of joy was lifted to the lip of expectation — and was dashed away. The minister had formed his plan. The good, the beneficent, the insulted Viceroy was recalled, and Ireland was sacrificed. Like the pacific Chesterfield, he was just shown to Ireland, and snatched away at the moment his presence was most need-

* Arthur O'Connor particularly cautioned the United Irishmen against believing certain admissions inserted in the Report of the Secret Committee.

ful and salutary. Of this disastrous removal of Earl Fitzwilliam a forcible and prophetic opinion was expressed by Lord Charlemont: "In spite of every wicked machination," said he, "we had the mass of the people with us last new-year's day; and if we do not make some exertion, next Christmas-day we may see them in the hands of the United Irishmen."*

The prediction was too true. The United Irishmen, deprived of their leaders by superior cunning, and well-directed *espionage*, were driven into premature action; the Orange system was brought into play; and the soldiery, let loose upon the people, commenced the work of death and desolation,—covered the country with the horrors of a most calamitous war, and drove the innocent into co-operation with the guilty. All the ties of social life were torn up, and flung into one vast heap of undistinguishable ruin. The bayonet, whetted with religious rancour, was opposed by the merciless pike; whilst, at the same time, insidious but pitiless policy held out in one hand the olive-branch, and flourished the lash of torture in the other. It was not war,—it was butchery. The contest was mad revenge, driven to desperation by exterminating pursuit. Let humanity throw her sacred veil over that unnatural and terrific scene, and bury in bottomless oblivion the remotest recollection of the sanguinary system that produced such horrors.

By the dreadful event of the rebellion of 1798, Ireland was preserved to England, but lost to herself. The rage excited by military execution and licentious havoc was subsiding, and industry beginning to repair the mischiefs of war, when a great political manœuvre deprived the

* Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, vol. ii. p. 348.

country of independence, and erased it from the list of nations. Mr. Pitt, availing himself of the confusion into which all parties had been thrown, secured the *Union* before the measure could be fairly understood; and knowing from experience how to obtain majorities in the Irish parliament, took that panic-struck body by surprise, and boldly pushed his favourite purpose to accomplishment.

The exclusively loyal and the discontented were alike the dupes of the minister's over-ruling sagacity; he played the parties one against the other; his masterly penetration discovered the leading bias of each, and both were drawn easily within his toils. A successful *charlatanry* was at the same moment performed in the adroit and pliant palm of Lord Castlereagh, the able and indefatigable coadjutor and confidant of the British minister. They found the victory easy beyond hope; but they were lavish, even to profusion, of the means most likely to persuade. The Orange-men were cajoled into acquiescence by flattering their notions of ascendancy, and by some well-applied compliments of more solid kind. The calumniated, dispirited, and overawed Catholics had their fears allayed, and their hopes rekindled by an assurance of the long-promised boon of emancipation in its most liberal form; and all were promised boundless blessings, arising from the paternal cares of one presiding legislature, and a community of interests between the united kingdoms. Thus, by a suicidal act of her own corrupt parliament, was Ireland deprived of political existence: a painful experience, however, of more than twenty years, has falsified the showy promises that induced her degradation; and vain, if not ridiculously absurd, is every hope, to reclaim privileges so long misused, so criminally surrendered.

A close attention to Irish affairs had made me familiar

with the prevailing causes of unhappiness in that country: its increasing population, acknowledged fertility, and adaptation to the purposes of agriculture and commerce, had removed every doubt of its prosperity; and my mind was led to indulge in a hope to that effect by a persuasion that all classes of the community had laid aside much of their imprudent animosities: and if they indulged in any difference of opinion, that it would be as to the most effectual means of advancing the interests of humanity, and the general well-being of society. But when the late disturbances in the southern and western parts of the kingdom came to be known, and the severe but, doubtless, necessary measures taken to repress them, were subsequently attended with famine and disease, all the ideas of that prosperity, so agreeably pictured heretofore, disappeared and left a painful subject for commiseration.

Being desirous, however, of having precise notions on a subject, at once involving the happiness or misery of millions, as well as the character of the government from which that country had so much to expect; and being, moreover, anxious to witness the actual state of the people which could require the interference of British benevolence and liberality to remove the miseries of famine; and to see the manner in which that generous subscription had operated upon the class to which its relief had been applied; I availed myself of a favourable opportunity, and visited the greater part of Ireland. I now venture to submit a true and faithful view of what came under my immediate observation. It is "a plain unvarnished tale."

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

NOTES OF A TOUR IN IRELAND.

On the 25th of May, 1822, I left London for Liverpool. In the journey to the latter place nothing occurred worthy of notice: some quarrelling, indeed, happened at every stage where we changed coachman or guard; this was caused by a north-country captain, who would never give more than sixpence, which was considerably under the perquisite expected, I had almost said demanded, on such occasions. The captain stated frankly, that "times were very bad, and as ships now made nothing, he neither could nor would give any more." This declaration, however candid and sincere, was neither received nor answered in the most courteous manner, by the coach servants, who took no pains to disguise their disappointment. Their insolence was met and repelled by the hardy captain, whose language, to do him justice, contained but little of politeness or compliment. At several places where we stopped, the peace was preserved only by the shortness of our stay.

It may here be observed that this custom is an imposition which should not be encouraged: every traveller has found it inconvenient. It would be much better were coach-proprietors to pay their own servants, and include

the amount of their perquisites in the passage-money. It frequently happens that one passenger gives more than his fellow-travellers can afford, and these are always obliged to make up the deficiency by enduring much insolence and vulgar abuse, against which the peaceable passenger has no protection. At half-past eight, in the evening of the 26th, the coach arrived in Liverpool, and stopped at the Saracen's Head, where I took up my abode for the night.

Having ordered tea, I sat down at a table where a Spanish gentleman was descanting on the beauty and excellence of the docks, which he appeared to have spent the greater part of the day in examining. As soon as he had disposed of this subject, he spoke of the mode of living in this country, with which he was by no means so well pleased as he had been with the docks. He expressed a particular dislike to the butter with which his muffins had been dressed, and inquired of the waiter, in language barely intelligible, whether he was not ashamed of it? To this interrogatory the waiter boldly answered in the negative, and declared his conviction that there was not better butter in England, nor the world. The Spaniard's dissatisfaction did not appear at all lessened by this assurance. The next thing he complained of was the prices, which he swore were "*infamy* in every part of *English*." The waiter entertained a different opinion, and was very free in expressing it. Being overpowered with sleep, I went to bed, leaving them to argue the point.

27th. I arose at seven, breakfasted at eight, and went to Pickford's canal-office to get some baggage; but found that, owing to some mistake, it had not arrived as I expected, though it had been entered in the office in London on the 14th: the agent, however, promised to use every

endeavour to get it down, and forward it to Dublin by the earliest opportunity. The "Mountaineer," steam-packet, was advertised to sail at six in the evening, and at that hour I repaired on board.

Many passengers had already arrived, and many more were seen coming: at half past six, the lashings were cast off, and we departed. The wind was fair down the Mersey, but when we hauled up to cross the channel, it was directly in our teeth, and blew a pretty fresh breeze. There was a good deal of motion, and more sea-sickness than I ever before witnessed. Males and females were jumbled together in the same cabin; basins were in constant requisition; "Steward! Steward!" sounded and re-echoed from every corner, mingled with moans and most piteous ejaculations: the motion rather increased than diminished, and confusion reigned throughout.

28th. About noon we entered the Bay of Dublin, the country around which exhibits a degree of beauty and magnificence, little, if at all, inferior to the delightful scenery of Naples. At 1 a.m., abreast of the Pigeon-House; and as it happened to be nearly low-water, the vessel could get no further. Several large, clumsy boats came off, for the purpose of landing the passengers; and never before did I see boats so badly managed. One of them got entangled under the wheel of the steam-engine, where it was likely to be knocked to pieces; yet not the least assistance was offered by any of the men in the other boats; on the contrary, they laughed very heartily at the accident.

The place where we landed was crowded with creatures, of whom it would be difficult to give a correct description. Their dress, or, more properly speaking, their undress, together with their emaciated, haggard looks, was well calcu-

lated to awaken feelings of commiseration. Most of them were without shoes, stockings, or coats; and many of them carried, rather than wore, garments composed of innumerable patches, exhibiting almost every variety of colour: it was utterly impossible to say what had been the original. They were all eager to carry our luggage up to the place where it was to be examined.

The examination, which was a mere matter of form, was conducted in a small room filled by persons of all descriptions and sexes, each of whom struggled to get done first. The head-porter demanded five-pence for every trunk or box of moderate size, and two-pence for every small parcel. It is a rule of mine, never to submit to imposition willingly, no matter by what authority or length of time it may be sanctioned; in this case, when the demand was made, I asked, "For what?" The fellow answered my question by asking in turn, "Don't you see every body gives it?" I told him I should certainly give him nothing, until I knew what service he had performed for me: he did not urge the demand, but was very abusive.

A great number of vehicles called jaunting-cars, collected at the Pigeon-House, to convey passengers and their luggage to Dublin. Jaunting cars have often been described, but the horses that draw them have generally put all descriptive attempts at defiance; and those I saw to-day were truly nondescript. If one of them were taken to London, it might, with very little puffing, be exhibited with as much success as attended the Bonassus some months ago.

A gentleman and his wife, who, like myself, did not much admire travelling through the streets of Dublin on such machines, engaged a man to fetch two coaches, for which service he asked only a shilling, which we agreed to give him. After waiting an hour and a half, we saw him and them

coming slowly along, and presently they all stopped at a public-house, where each of the coachmen was to treat the messenger for the preference he had given their coaches. While anxiously waiting their arrival, our attention was attracted by an old beggar-woman, standing at a distance from any one, abusing and swearing at — we could not imagine whom. She came towards us, and we learned that she was venting her spleen against the gentlemen of Connaught, for not maintaining their beggars. "*There* are seventy of them," said she, "just now goin to Inglind to get the *faiver and aigy;* and when they come back, to be hanged. I am goin to Liverpool, too, but I wouldn't take a crown to go in a ship with the *Connaught beggars.*"

The coaches at length arrived, and our thirsty messenger demanded half a crown, though he had agreed for a shilling. Other persons, whom we never before had seen, demanded "something for their trouble," and behaved very insolently when their demands were rejected. I got away from this place with the loss of my travelling-cap *only.* We arrived at Morrison's hotel about half-past three.

As my visit to Ireland is purely with a view to inquire into some of the evils, both moral and physical, under which, unhappily, it has too long been permitted to labour, I shall not waste my own or my reader's time by attempting to depict the scenery of every place through which I may have occasion to pass. I am fully conscious that such a task requires a fertility of imagination, and a depth of talent to which I have no claim. But even could I indulge a hope of success in the attempt, such details would swell this volume greatly beyond the limits which it has been found necessary to prescribe. My humble aim is simply to record every circumstance which may fall under notice, that can

tend to illustrate the great question I have ventured to discuss.

The knowledge I formerly had of Dublin had never been very extensive or particular, but many valuable improvements have evidently been made within my own recollection: of these the elegant quays, formed of fine hammered granite, erected along the Liffey, confining that river, in its course through the city, within certain limits, are not the least important or useful. The inconvenience formerly experienced from deposits of animal and vegetable matter, when the tide flowed over a much more extensive surface than at present, is entirely removed. The streets, too, appeared much better paved, and cleaner than in former years.

On the score of cleanliness, however, many parts of the city, which I visited, are miserably deficient. The disgusting filthiness of Patrick Street could not, I am positive, be surpassed in the worst parts of Lisbon or Constantinople. This part of Dublin, I am informed, has long been notorious for wanton extravagance as well as dirt, even since the days of Swift: a butcher's wife is often seen to issue from a house that has not perhaps a whole window, dressed in laces and other finery of some hundred pounds value.

Barrack Street may also be mentioned as exhibiting a degree of depravity and consequent wretchedness, scarcely to be met with any where else. This street is situated just below the barrack, and is filled with public houses, which are constantly frequented by soldiers and unfortunate females in the lowest state of degradation. I have seen some of these wretched outcasts running about furiously intoxicated, and in a state very nearly approaching to nudity!

The country, for six or eight miles around the metropolis, is beautifully diversified with gentlemen's seats, the gardens and grounds of which generally display a considerable share of taste. Lucan, a delightful village six miles from town, is celebrated for a spring strongly impregnated with sulphur; its medicinal qualities are differently estimated by different persons as they have happened to get better or worse during its use. Rents are high in this county, though the land is by no means of a superior quality. The natural defects of the soil, however, are often compensated by manuring, and a superior method of cultivation. Wheat, hay, and potatoes, are the principal productions; a very small proportion of oats is raised, and scarcely any flax. Limestone is very abundant, and as it enters into the composition of the soil in most parts of this county, it is seldom used as manure. *

6th June. In company with Drs. Harty and Gamble, I visited some of the prisons, of which I shall submit a brief sketch. It will seldom fall to any one's lot to see a worse gaol than the Dublin Newgate, which is badly situated, badly constructed, and badly managed. In space, classification, inspection, education, and employment, it is eminently deficient. The manners of its inmates, particularly the females, are distinguished by horrific ferocity. The most that can be said in its favour is, that it is kept as clean as circumstances will permit.

The City Marshalsea exhibits a crowded picture of human wretchedness, reflecting disgrace on the callous-hearted individuals who have the power, but want the humanity, to

* On the scale of geographical dimensions this county ranks 29th, there being only three smaller in the kingdom. It contains 338 square miles, and a population of 448 nearly, to the square mile; giving a total of 173,824, of whom 154,510 are Catholics.

meliorate its condition. Dr. Harty says, "the Sheriff's prison is, in many respects, a more filthy and noxious prison than either of the former; it consists of twenty-five lodging apartments, each about twelve feet square, containing generally from three to ten inmates!!" I am unable to say which of these wretched prisons is the worst.

Smithfield Penitentiary, although injudiciously constructed, is a creditable institution; industry, and its moral attendant, good order, are observable in every part of it. Boys and girls are here taught useful trades, by the exercise of which it is hoped many of them will in future be able to gain an honest livelihood. The new Bridewell is a very valuable institution, though a much more commodious building might have been erected for less money than has been expended on this. Education and employment experience that care and encouragement their importance merits, and there is every reason to hope that their results will be happy.

7th. At six this morning, I left Dublin. The weather being fine, I preferred travelling outside on the coach, which enabled me to see something of the surface of the country. There happened to be a quaker gentleman, Mr. J. Christy, going by the same coach; on getting into conversation with him, he proved exceedingly well-informed.

The long want of rain is severely felt and regretted by the farmers. The dry and parched state of the corn-fields plainly shews that the process of vegetation is every where impeded, and in many places almost suspended. Several small parties are employed in planting potatoes; they are principally poor persons who, having worked for the large farmers while they had any thing to do, are now at liberty to work for themselves; but the lateness of the season must

naturally cause their labour thus directed to produce nothing but weak and defective crops.

It is painfully interesting to witness the manner in which that wretched class of the Irish peasantry, denominated cotters, toil to cultivate the little patch of ground set apart for family support. In front of the cabin, and close to the walls on each side of the door, is a pit for the collection of manure, consisting of dung and filth of every kind, accumulated throughout the winter and spring. When the season arrives for its removal to the potatoe plot, the man is seen up to his ankles, and sometimes nearly to his knees in sludge, scraping up matter, both animal and vegetable, in a state of semi-decomposition, partly in a fluid state, which is called *gullion*. This he fills, heedless of the effluvia, into a square wicker basket, called a *kreel*, (the interstices being clogged to prevent the contents from running out,) which he carries on his back to the "garden," where his wife is employed in spreading this stuff on the ground with her hands, while some of the children, of whom there is seldom any scarcity, are employed in depositing the seed potatoes on the beds. A certain quantity of ground being thus prepared, the man sets about to cover in the ridges, in which he is often assisted by his wife, but more frequently she goes home to prepare the dinner, which is simply boiling a few potatoes. When boiled, the potatoes are turned into a basket; the pot is placed in the middle of the floor, and is the table on which the feast is placed. There is generally a stool or two, or, in better circumstances, perhaps a chair and a stool for the father and mother; the children either stand or sit on the floor.

As I travel to the northward the quality of the land improves. The soil of Meath is said to be as good as that of

any county in Ireland. Its eastern side is washed by the sea, between the Nanny-water and the Boyne, an extent of nearly ten miles. "A small portion only of this county can be called *waste land*, there being little mountain, and scarcely bog enough to supply the necessary fuel: coal is principally used by the gentry. Extensive tracts are set apart for grazing; but great quantities of wheat are raised: the heaviest grain in the kingdom is said to be raised here. *

Between Drogheda and Dundalk I noticed five children running about completely naked, and a great many others very nearly so; the weather was unusually hot, which seemed providentially favourable to the circumstances of these rustic cupids. The cabins, as they fell under observation, although not admitting of any thing like an idea of comfort, were greatly superior to many I had formerly seen in other parts of the country; most of these had chimneys, and some even were provided with two windows. The appearance of the peasantry differed but little from what it was twenty-five years ago. About seven in the evening I arrived at Armagh.

Lime appears to form the principal geological feature of the country between Dublin and Armagh; that is, limestone forms the substratum of the greater part of that district. Here and there grey-wacke alternating with amorphous blocks of basalt, is observable; and occasionally there are traces of serpentine. Between Dundalk and Armagh, clay-slate is met with; but it appears to enter sparingly into the materials of which the north of Ireland is composed. Around Armagh a reddish co-

* Meath, according to its size, ranks eleventh on the scale of geographical proportion; it contains 965 English square miles, and supports a population of 224¼ to the mile, which gives a total of 216,401, of whom 211,123 are Catholics.

loured stone exists, I believe in considerable quantity, to which the name of marble is given.

On the morning of the 8th, I got a very good post-chaise to convey me to Blackwater town, a distance of four miles; — the country both beautiful and rich: about half-way there are two bleach greens, one on each side of the road, which give a pleasing diversity to the scenery. I breakfasted with my brother, who supplied me with a saddle-horse, and accompanied me in a short excursion into Tyrone*, where the country exhibited a different aspect. The quality of the land is very inferior to that of Armagh, Louth, Meath, or Dublin. The farms are less, the tenants poor, and their mode of farming more contracted, almost despicable.

There is not, I believe, one in seventy of the tenants in this county who can individually set a plough going on a farm; by far the greater number have only one horse, which is lent to a neighbour for a certain number of days, who lends his in return for the same length of time. Those who have land, but no horse, and there are a great many such, get their land ploughed at the end of the season, for which they pay by labour. But it is not always they can obtain that accommodation. I have often seen poor people, men, women, and children, dig up their ground in order to keep pace with the season, and endeavour to break it with a three-pronged fork, called a *grape*, and an iron rake, such as is used by gardeners: nothing but wretched crops can be expected to result from such a mode of culture.

* In point of geographical extent, Tyrone is seventh in the list of counties; it contains 1271 square miles, and 236½ persons to the square mile, which gives a population of 300,592, of whom 257,650 are of the Catholic persuasion.

9th. While travelling through the country, visiting the humble dwellings of the peasantry, I called at the house of a man who had formerly been in easy circumstances, and was still respectable, because his integrity stood *unimpeached*. In the parlour of this once opulent individual, there was a window which particularly attracted my notice, and induced me to make a note of it on the spot. The window-frame had been made for nine panes of glass, and I remember when it had them; at present there was only one; the other eight were *glazed* in the following manner. The glass pane was in the left corner of the uppermost row; through the others of the same row two old hats were thrust; immediately below the glass pane was inserted another hat, which, as it wanted the crown, had from the outside some resemblance to the mouth of a cannon, the other two were filled with straw. In the right corner of the lower tier a quarto edition of Lyttleton's Latin Dictionary was fitted, and the remaining two were perfectly covered by a wooden bowl of a large size. This grotesque description may excite a smile, — on me it had a very different effect. The dictionary belonged to a young man who had been my companion and school-fellow in early life. I had seen him use it a thousand times. I had often used it myself. It is now rotten, and can be consulted no more.

Just as I was leaving this house, a man, comfortably dressed, came in with a bundle strapped on his back, somewhat in the way that soldiers fix on their knapsacks. He entered freely into conversation with the proprietor of the house, to whom he appeared desirous of selling a part of his burden, which he termed "the right sort." I inquired what that meant, and was answered, — "A little of the best *potteen* you ever tasted in your life; — would you like to try it?" I declined this civil offer, and asked how he

came by it, to which he fearlessly answered, "I make it myself: you may depend on it." I expressed some surprise that he was not afraid to carry it openly through the country, without a licence; he replied with a contemptuous nod, "Pshat, man, who am I *afeard of*, — am n't I a tenant of Sir John's, — who *durst mislist* me?" I desired to know, whether, being a tenant of Sir John's gave him a right to break the laws of the country? He appeared to consider this question quite undeserving of an answer; and shaking his head knowingly, he ejaculated, "Lord help you, you know little about it."

Whether "Sir John" would have extended to this man the protection on which he reckoned with so much confidence, merely because he was a tenant, I will not hazard an opinion; but of this I am quite certain, that the man himself had not a doubt of it, and that the whole neighbourhood believed it also: and if the worthy Baronet is not in the habit of befriending his tenants in that way, he has the credit of being a more indulgent landlord than he really is; for in this respect his character stands very high. How far poor ignorant men are likely to be benefited by a system, the very essence of which is to establish habits of idleness and dissipation, and to defy the laws of the land, I leave others to determine, who are better qualified to judge of such things than I am.

10th. Dined at the house of a relation, and met many old acquaintances, all of whom are in worse circumstances than I had formerly known them, one only excepted. This one, by unwearied industry and great prudence, had increased his fortune considerably, while all the others had as greatly diminished theirs. The *times* had changed them more than time itself. The following day I returned to Blackwater town.

16th. The last few days were spent in riding through the county of Armagh, and the excursion afforded me much satisfaction. The humblest cottages have a superior degree of neatness, and convey an idea of comfort beyond what is commonly found even in those of a higher order in Tyrone. Many of the labouring poor in Armagh have shoes and stockings; indeed the condition of the peasantry seems to be much improved, and they appear much more intelligent than the generality of their neighbours. The face of the country is diversified with hill and dale; it is also well wooded, abounds in orchards, and is highly cultivated; it may justly be called the garden of Ireland. *

On the 17th I rode into the county of Monaghan, and saw many of the poor peasants employed in planting potatoes. One had his ground prepared and the manure spread three weeks, but was unable to procure seed. This man had been ill during the spring; his little all was soon exhausted; starvation stared him in the face, and in order to eke out a weary existence, his wife and seven children "took the country," — they went to beg. This poor creature called Heaven to witness that he had eaten nothing but dry potatoes for nine weeks, and could not get a sufficiency even of them: his looks too strongly bore testimony to the fact. At the door of another cabin a woman and three children were crying bitterly; on asking the cause, a little girl answered, "the *rid* cow and *wee stirk* (meaning the red cow and little heifer) is gone to jail, and my father is gone with them." The labours of this family had failed to satisfy the demands of the landlord, who, by

* Armagh ranks the *twenty-eighth* in comparative extent, being only 451 square miles in area, but remarkable for its very dense population, the square mile containing 468 souls: the total population is therefore 211,068, of whom 140,712 are of the Catholic belief.

the by, was a middle-man, and for this their cow and calf, the former the support of the family, were driven away and *canted.* *

During my ride I overtook a farmer near the town of Monaghan, a Mr. Anderson, who, I found, had travelled through a great part of America, in quest of a spot to settle on with his family. His ancestors, he said, had a farm of forty-five acres near Monaghan, time immemorial; they had paid the rent regularly, and he himself had done the same. When his lease expired, and he went to get it renewed, he was informed that Lord R—— wished to take the farm, and had offered a much higher rent than Anderson had paid, or than he thought it was worth. It was intimated that Lord R—— wanted to convert the farm into a park; and his lordship obtained a lease of it accordingly. "So far," said Mr. Anderson, "I could not complain, but that very year his lordship granted a lease of *my* farm to another person, at a profit rent." This last sentence will be rendered intelligible to the reader, when he hears that Lord R—— is nephew to the present proprietor, and that at her death the estates will devolve to him. Whether the statement be true or false, I had no opportunity of inquiring; for the honour of the country, and of human nature, I am unwilling to believe it.

19th. This day I returned to Tyrone, and visited the town of Caledon, which I was much pleased to find greatly improved. The noble earl of that name RESIDES a considerable portion of every year upon his estate, and has lately directed his attention to the improvement of the town. Several new buildings are now in progress, which are designed both for use and ornament. Under his lord-

* Sold by auction, usually at a great undervalue.

ship's auspices, school-houses have been erected, and schools established, from which much good may be expected. These humble institutions are the more valuable, and the views of his lordship more praiseworthy, as the peasantry, though miserably poor, are remarkable for shrewd and ready talent, which, even without education, cannot be kept in a state of inaction. The tenants on his lordship's estates complain that their rents are too high for the quality of the land. It does not appear that any abatement of rent has been made since the peace; reflections on this point, however, I shall reserve for another opportunity. The character of Lady Caledon stands eminently bright amidst the misery of this district. I have not seen a poor person in the neighbourhood who did not gratefully acknowledge, and heartily eulogise, the sympathy with which her ladyship entered into their distress, and the benevolence that gave them consolation and relief.

21st. I visited the village of Aughnacloy, which I was sorry to see declining rather than improving. It, too, has felt the "times." It was a flourishing little town about twenty years ago; poverty and wretchedness are now its distinguishing features. Thence I proceeded to the town of Balligawly, and the improvement thereabouts is considerable under the immediate care of its proprietor, Sir John Stewart; but there is still great room for improvement, beyond the skill necessary for meliorating the surface of the soil; human beings are there, a prouder concern for a benevolent and wise landlord, than the paltry benefits directly arising from houses and farms ever so numerously multiplied.

Thence I proceeded through an isolated district called the *Truagh*, which is properly the Connemara of Ulster. The description given from Spencer, page 56 applies

originally to this quarter; — here still are seen the *reliquiæ* of that wasteful period. I had often travelled through this wild district when a boy, and although pretty well acquainted with the manners, customs, and genius of its inhabitants, I must acknowledge my inability to give any thing like a correct sketch of them. In such a picture many of the vices and virtues, many of the brightest as well as darkest shades which characterise both civil and savage man, would appear contrasted. The eye glistening with grateful sensibility at the sounds of condolence, lights up the furrowed feature with intelligence; but that divine expression of an innate gem is suddenly clouded with a recollection of debasement, and the grief that all talent in that state is as dross, settles round the heart, and fastens there in a perpetual gloom. For kindness, generosity, and bravery; capability of undergoing excessive privation without complaint; quickness of apprehension, and charity to strangers, — often sharing their last potatoe with those whom they never knew till then, — all *these* they have from a bountiful Providence, who has stamped many such valuable qualities of social life upon their unsophisticated, unenlightened nature; to *that* they owe every thing that makes their state comparatively happy, — to man they are indebted for nothing but their vices. With minds wholly uncultivated, who can wonder that their good qualities are so seldom developed, or rendered useful? Treated, as they have always been, with *more* than neglect, can any one be surprised, however he may lament the fact, that they associate themselves in mutual dread of aggression, the result of ignorance and traditionary terror, and form clans and parties, out of which issue outrageous broils, aggravated by little enmities, and rendered doubly demoralizing by intoxication, the mischievous materials for which are

everywhere at hand? It were well if these petty disputes among themselves went no further; but they afterwards, in appealing to justice, indulge in the utmost asperity of recrimination, and too frequently is the sanctity of an oath disregarded, when the resentment of the moment is at its height.

Almost every cabin is *decorated* with a pit before the door, for the reception of the sweepings of the house, and every sort of filth, which, from the rains, and the foul water of washing and other domestic uses, is generally in a half-fluid state throughout the winter, and emits an intolerable exhalation in the summer. Access to the house is sometimes facilitated by forming a causeway of large stones, set apart, from the door to a landing-place clear of the gullion. Chimneys and windows are very little used; the fire is always made on the ground, and generally at one or other end of the house, rarely in the middle of the floor.

22d. In my ride this day, happening to be thirsty, I alighted at one of these cabins, and asked for a noggin * of water; but receiving no answer, I approached the entrance, which had neither door nor any thing like one. A large thorn bush was placed in the opening, and was confined in its position by a heavy stone. There were voices within, but no one was to be seen. On removing the thorn I walked in, and found two children about three or four years old, without any clothing but a short shirt each, playing on the floor: there were also two young pigs in the opposite corner. The father and mother, I learned, had gone to the moss (the usual term in the north for bog),

* Noggins are wooden vessels generally used among the Irish peasantry; they are made in the form of a pail, and contain from one to three pints.

and left the two youngest of their children at home. On examining more closely, I found that the poor babes were prevented from getting to the fire by a cord with which each of them was tied by one leg to the post of a bed that stood in the corner. The pigs were secured in the same way, at a sufficient distance from the children; perhaps to prevent them from having any disputes.

Many of the cotters hereabouts are planting potatoes, notwithstanding the very advanced state of the season. Farms here are small; the land cold and ungrateful, and the state of husbandry the very worst that can be imagined.

"28d. Returning from Ballygawly, I visited the town of Dungannon, which has a good linen market. Sessions are held here twice a year, at which an assistant barrister presides. Under the Sessions-house is a gaol, which may be said to be partly underground. This receptacle may boast of every inconvenience that can possibly attend the very worst constructed prisons. So far is classification from being observed, there is no possibility of separating the male from the female prisoners. In the construction of the cells, light and ventilation appear to have been thought unnecessary. These damp and wretched dungeons are ten feet by eight, and are intended for the lodgment of six prisoners each; but I am assured that *seventeen persons have been crammed into one of them.*

It would really appear that the propagation of crime was alone held in view by the constructors of this prison. The pernicious consequences of having men and women mingled indiscriminately, are too obvious to need illustration or argument, — the fact itself is argument. It will, perhaps, be with difficulty believed, that a prison exists in which there is no water-closet, nor any such convenience; here that want is disgustingly manifest. In a corner of the

yard, indeed, exactly opposite the kitchen-door, two low walls were formerly built, over which a stick was placed, to which all the prisoners (of both sexes) were obliged to resort; but now, even that convenience, if such it could be called, no longer exists. The stick became rotten, and the prisoners have been left to languish without any consideration of the violence their feelings must every hour sustain.

There is neither well nor pump in the prison of Dungannon. Fortunately, the prisoners are transferred to Omagh gaol on the first day of every month; but I hardly know a greater punishment than that of keeping a human being in such a place even for a month. It is but justice to say, and the avowal gives pleasure, that the walls are white-washed, the cells and bedding kept clean, and the gaoler appears to discharge his duty with as much humanity and attention as the nature of the prison will admit.

Hence I proceeded to Moy, a pretty little village on the left bank of the Blackwater, and verging on the county of Tyrone. Society here is very respectable; most of the persons of whom it is composed, are liberal and well-informed. On the opposite bank of the river is the fortified town of Charlemont. It has an ill-attended market on Saturdays, which has long been celebrated for bad beef. I remember, many years ago, a poor man named Harpur, whose cow died of some lingering disease; he skinned his old friend himself, and actually sold her in Charlemont to some of the commissariat stationed at that place. Such frauds are considered venial. The country from Dungannon to Charlemont is exceedingly well cultivated; the soil is a mixture of rich vegetable mould and fine sand of a reddish colour, which is given probably from oxyde of iron; the substratum appears to be clay and sandstone

principally, with thick beds of gravel occasionally intervening.

25th. Visited the gaol of Armagh in company with my friend Doctor Johnson. This edifice is situated at the extremity of the town, and consists of three stories; a considerable addition has been made to it during the last twelve months, by which it has certainly been much improved, but it is still deficient in many essential points; of these, classification and inspection, particularly the latter, are among the most conspicuous. The plan was originally bad, and no alteration can make it good, except taking it down entirely, and re-constructing it, but of this little hope can be at present entertained. There are six yards* for the prisoners to exercise in at particular times of the day; but, during those periods, they are in a great measure concealed from the view of the gaoler and his assistants. Two felons under sentence of transportation effected their escape a few weeks ago. In this prison the males are separated from the females.

In each sleeping cell there are two iron bedsteads, and two prisoners usually sleep in each. There were two women spinning, and another expressed an earnest wish to be furnished with a wheel and flax, that she might be employed also. One of those unfortunate creatures asked for charity, and her manner was more modest, and less importunate than I have been accustomed to notice in females similarly circumstanced. One of them shewed me a letter she had just received from her husband, a convict

* I have heard that some of the yards have been subdivided since my visit, and that the number now is 9. By this management classification may be promoted, but inspection almost entirely lost. The yards were small enough before; it is to be feared that they will now be useless.

on board the *Mangles*, lying at Cork, and about to proceed to New South Wales. The letter was signed Arthur M'Cann; in it he desired his wife "to wait patiently till the end of her sentence, but when she gets out, to be sure not to leave Armagh without committing a crime that will ensure her to be sent after him." I asked this woman whether she intended to follow his advice, to which she replied in the negative, but stated at the same time, she certainly would were it not for two children, from whom she could not think of being separated. Finding that I had been in New South Wales, she inquired eagerly whether her children would be permitted to go with her. I evaded the question, and endeavoured to impress on her mind a correct idea of the deplorable situation of unfortunate females in that country, of which she appeared sensible; but there were several of her companions who appeared very anxious to be sent thither.

A most laudable effort was made some time since to introduce employment, and five looms were erected; but unfortunately three of them were obliged to be taken down, that the prisoners' food might be cooked according to a late act of parliament. Several females have been taught to work at their needle, as well as to read the Scriptures. A school has been established for the male prisoners of all descriptions, which has proved most successful; nothing in the concerns of this mansion of misery affords more gratification than its result. *A great many who were ignorant of the alphabet have been taught to read, write, and cipher, some of whom are stated to be near eighty years of age. The dietary daily is seven pounds of potatoes, a pint of new milk, and a pound of best bread a day, with a sufficient quantity of salt, for each individual.*

Ye wise and good, who now legislate for Ireland,

compare the gaol of Armagh with the cottages of the peasantry!

A very elegant court-house was erected a few years since, but it stands a considerable distance from the gaol, which must be productive of much inconvenience, particularly during the assizes.

At half-past twelve, a few minutes after Dr. Johnson and I left the gaol, we observed several soldiers of the 31st regiment, and some yeomanry, escorting a number of plain, country-looking men to the prison, whither we immediately followed them. We learned that special information had been received by the lord-lieutenant of an intended meeting of conspirators in a certain public house in Armagh, on the market day, and that his excellency issued a warrant for their apprehension. This document, it was said, contained the names of seventeen persons; but fourteen only were secured, the others not having arrived, or made their escape in the confusion that ensued. They all appeared to be men of low condition, from whom no serious mischief against the state could be reasonably entertained. There were some papers found among them, the contents of which were kept secret. It is not, however, very probable, that beings of such mean condition would be intrusted with documents of much consequence to any party.

The incident gave rise to numerous and very opposite opinions, some of which were delivered with a degree of self-importance and seeming mystery that would lead one to suppose that something dreadful was about to happen: others with equal confidence asserted, that "the egg was hatched at the castle of Dublin, and that the farce was got up for no other purpose than to keep the Armagh militia on permanent pay." The probability is that neither of the parties, whose opinion was thus confidently ex-

pressed, knew any thing at all of the real cause of the proceeding.

About nine in the evening of this day, a riot took place which appeared to originate in party-spirit; there were a great many engaged. The constables were not to be found, and had it not been for the prompt interference of the military, the quarrel might have assumed a serious aspect. The principal in the affray was secured and lodged in the gaol. This fellow thought proper to proclaim himself a Protestant, though it is probable he was influenced but little by the principles of that or any other religion, else he would not so readily have broken the peace. Some of the combatants continued to patrol the streets till a late hour, and seemed very anxious to find "ribbon-men" to fight with. About half-past ten, I met a party of about 30, several of whom wore red coats; they stopped me, and rudely demanded whether I was a ribbon-man; but being answered in the negative, they permitted me to proceed, saying at the same time, "It is d——d well for you that you are not."

26th. I left Armagh this morning in the Belfast coach, and arrived in Lurgan at 9 A. M. Of the fertility and beauty of Armagh county, a brief sketch has been already attempted. There is much picturesque and beautiful scenery in the neighbourhood of Lurgan,—a town deservedly celebrated for its hospitality. The soil appears to be alluvial. In two or three places I observed that the substratum consisted of lime-stone, and in others of siliceous slate. At Lurgan I got a chaise, and proceeded on the Dromore road, some parts of which command fine views of the counties of Armagh and Down. Paid a visit to Mr. James Christy, of Kirkessick, (a member of the Society of Friends,) who has the reputation of being the

best farmer in Ulster. I had the good fortune to find him at home, and he most obligingly showed me over his farm; he pointed out many improvements which he has made, and described others which he has in contemplation.

"The farm consists of 121 acres, most of it in the highest degree of cultivation. I never saw finer wheat in any country, and yet he assured me that a large portion of the ground was originally a useless swamp, but that by draining and manuring he brought it to what it then appeared. On every subject connected with the state of the country, his opinions were energetic, clear, and liberal. In the course of the evening, he illustrated some of his views by anecdotes, which tended to impress the subject more strongly on my mind. One of them was to the following effect:—

"In a parish near Dundalk, the number of Protestants was so small, that it sometimes happened none of them attended the parish church: on which occasions there was, of course, no service. The circumstance of non-attendance was always ascertained by the rector, (Sir T——— E———) who sent his clerk to the church a little before the time at which the service usually commenced. It happened that a farmer, a Roman Catholic, very often made his appearance, which rendered it imperative on the clergyman to officiate; and it was generally observed, that the most favourite days for Paddy to display his devotion were those which would be most disagreeable to others. When it rained, hailed, sleeted, snowed, or blew most violently, he was never known to be absent. Of this pious rage he was cured in a remarkable manner. The reverend baronet sent for him, and, before they parted, it was agreed that Paddy's tithe should be considerably reduced. Since that time the "*holy Roman*" has never been seen within the walls of the church!

27th. This morning I rose at an early hour, and walked over a part of Mr. Christy's farm, which I had not seen the preceding day. In this little excursion I had the pleasure of Mr. Christy's company, and derived from his extensive and accurate information the utmost satisfaction on many points of my inquiry, relative to that neighbourhood. He expressed a wish to introduce me to some of his friends at Moyallen; but a gentleman with whom I had promised to proceed to Lisburn happening to arrive, and offering me a seat in his gig, I set out with him.

The face of this county (Down *) presents a greater variety of hills and valleys, lakes, and bogs, on a small scale, than any other of similar extent that I have seen. The soil is fertile, though not deep; the substratum varies in different districts: argillaceous clay and clay slate seem to predominate. Granite, quartz, basalt, grey-wacke, and transition limestone are also met with. The cottages here are in every respect equal to those in Armagh, and in some particular comforts are superior. In this and the adjoining county of Antrim, an excellent custom is growing into use; namely, that of landlords furnishing lime to their tenants, and requiring them to whitewash their cottages and cabins twice a year. This practice cannot be too strongly recommended; and it is much to be regretted, that it is not generally adopted all over the kingdom. While it contributes powerfully to destroy contagion, a common attendant on filth, it conveys an idea of decent comfort, which not only raises the possessor in his own estimation, but must render his abode pleasant, healthy, and delightful.

28th. Dr. Hancock, of London, had kindly favoured

* Down ranks twelfth in the list of counties, and is 936 square miles in extent, having a population of 366 to the square mile, making a total of 342,576, of whom 152,256 are Catholics.

me with introductory letters to several of his friends in Ireland, and I waited on his mother with one to-day. She was slowly recovering from a dangerous illness, and had not for many days received any visits, yet she most obligingly desired that I might be shewn up. I found her sitting up and exceedingly cheerful: indeed I never beheld so perfect a picture of elegant manners, pious resignation, and dignified old age.

29th. A gentleman, at whose house in Lisburn I resided, accommodated me with a horse, and accompanied me in a ride through a part of the county of Antrim. We ascended a hill about four miles from the town, whence we had a commanding view of the surrounding country; from its summit, it is said, part of seven counties,—Antrim, Derry, Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, Louth, and Down, can be seen; we distinctly saw the coast of Scotland, and some of the islets in the north Irish channel. I had been often before on ground of much greater elevation, but I do not remember any place where a more extensive or fertile tract of country came at one time under the eye. The soil in some parts of this county is loam, in others clay, and occasionally alluvial: in many places it is exceedingly productive. Its mineral treasures have been but little explored. Beds of sandstone exist in many places, and exhibit strong traces of coal. Limestone is very abundant, and basalt is met with everywhere.

1st July. The friend who rode with me yesterday proposed a drive to Carrickfergus*, and at six this morn-

* Antrim county is tenth on the comparative scale; it contains 1018 square miles, which, at 270¼ souls to the mile, give a total population of 275,114, of whom 122,273 are Catholics. Carrickfergus is computed to contain 9,750 inhabitants, and of these 2,437 profess the Catholic belief.

ing we set out. Two roads lead to Belfast from Lisburn; both in excellent condition: the new one, which was opened within the last six years, runs through a fine level country; but, as few houses have as yet been erected, and but little done in the way of planting, it presents rather a naked and dreary appearance, when compared with the old one, which truly more resembles a ride through a highly improved demesne than a turnpike road.

This, as well as the two adjoining counties of Down and Derry, is sprinkled with bleach greens, generally well covered with linen, the snowy whiteness of which forms a delightful contrast to the rich surrounding verdure: to this a fine sheet of water or a winding stream adds occasionally ornamental effect, the whole exhibiting these busy haunts of industry in the most finished combination of landscape beauties.

The town of Belfast is singularly well situated for commerce, being seated at the extremity of a noble bay, which is sheltered on the north by a range of high mountains extending from Fair-head, and ending in a superb crown just above the town, by which the tyrant winds of the ocean are effectually frowned away: on the south and east side rise the broad, bleak, heathy mountains of Down, which embrace the little towns of Holywood and Castlereagh; whilst the interior country, spreading its swelling bosom to the genial sun, displays a state of cultivation that may vie with places which make a boast of agriculture. These hills supply the town of Belfast with provisions, not only for its own consumption, but largely for exportation.

The staple article of trade, like every other that induces industrious effort, here peculiarly evinces its invigorating power; and the people everywhere appear active, intelligent, facetious, and independent; exhibiting a strong con-

trast to the dull, despairing, melancholy air, that is too much a matter for painful note elsewhere. The wealth which flows in upon this district from its commerce and manufactures, is not laid by in inglorious concealment. The numerous, elegant villas, highly improved grounds, and whitewashed cottages that crowd upon the admiring and gratified eye, along the road leading from Belfast to Carrickfergus, afford a pleasing proof that these happier of their nation know how to earn, and enjoy the comforts of life. The distance between is about eight miles, but the views are so beautiful, so various, and so full of interest, that the traveller would wish it ten times as long.

Visited the goal of the county of Antrim, of which I had heard various opinions expressed. Some asserted that it answers *every* purpose for which a gaol is intended, while others affirmed that in it *not one* of them can be attained; —both parties are wrong; for, it undoubtedly deprives great numbers of their liberty, which is *one* of the ends for which prisons are designed. Every one must acknowledge that the reformation of an offender should be a paramount object in prison discipline; but whether any degree of exertion on the part of the officers of this prison can effect that purpose is, in my mind, more than questionable.

Complete classification and inspection are indispensable in a good gaol;—in this prison they are both wanting. Two new wings were added to it in 1820, the cell windows of which are by far too small to admit air and light in sufficient quantity, and the whole is still too small for the number it is necessary to crowd into it. In a day-room, twenty feet by thirteen, there were thirty-six felons. In a corner of each day-room, a boiler is set for cooking: each cell is provided with two beds, and two prisoners sleep in each. There are four cells to which the name "solitary"

is given, but without any apparent good reason, for persons there confined can converse freely with those on the opposite side.

Inconvenience must arise from the passages to the dormitories being injudiciously situated, directly facilitating communication among prisoners of different classes and sexes. A few of the females were spinning linen yarn, but *all* the males were doomed to idleness, and, unfortunately, there is no place within the walls of the prison where a workshop can be erected. In addition to the above defects, the keeper, Mr. Erskine, assured me that the prison is insecure; and, that, if the prisoners would but keep their own secrets, it would be impossible for him and his assistants to prevent their escape.

It is gratifying to state that some excellent rules have been framed for the guidance of the prisoners, which appear to be carefully enforced. Three humane ladies, Miss *Hutton*, Mrs. *Johns*, and Miss *C. Duncan*, perform the praiseworthy task of visiting and instructing the unfortunate females: a similar duty appears to be zealously discharged to the males, by the Rev. *W. Flinter*, Captain *Dobbs*, and *Alexander Johns*, Esq. The Protestant, Presbyterian, and Catholic clergymen, are said to be very regular in their attendance.

A schoolmaster is provided, who receives a salary of thirty pounds; and his services, I consider, are invaluable. Many of the prisoners have been taught to read and write, although when they came in they were ignorant of the alphabet. I saw the hand-writing of several; one man, upwards of sixty years of age, learned to write beautifully in six months. There were convicts of both sexes under sentence of transportation, detained upwards of eighteen months after trial: these were constantly remarkable for

refractory spirit, and disregard of all regulations. In the infirmary, two old men were dangerously ill; one of them was detained for his prison fees. Each prisoner is allowed nine pounds of oatmeal a week; six pounds of potatoes, and one pint of new milk a day; one pint of salt a week, and four ounces of soap a fortnight. I cannot conclude this imperfect sketch without offering my humble testimony to the excellent manner in which the duty of the physician appears to be performed. To the politeness and intelligence of Dr. M'Gowan I am much indebted.

The town of Carrickfergus holds a conspicuous place in the page of Irish history. It has been the theatre of many a hard-fought contest, and appears to have been a favourite landing-place for many invaders: king James the first considered it the key to the back door of Great Britain. It was here William the third landed with his forces on the 14th of June, 1690. The town was formerly surrounded by a feeble wall, some vestiges of which, particularly an arch-way over the north gate, are still remaining. The castle is built on a rock projecting some distance into the sea; the walls are of prodigious thickness: twenty-two pieces of cannon, long twelves, are mounted: the whole place is said to be bomb-proof, and its massive appearance is strongly in favour of the assertion.

In the church, which is an ancient building, are deposited various banners, standards, statues, and insignia, belonging to the noble ancestors of the present Marquis of Donegal. These precious relics seem to have engaged but little of either public or private attention, as they are all in a state of decay. The roof being broken in by time, admits rain, by which the floor has become rotten; the banners have felt the influence of humidity also, and the swords and armour are nearly eaten through with rust: the statues

alone appear to have resisted the combined powers of time, air, and moisture, but still they have not escaped mutilation.

2d. This day I enjoyed a walk along the banks of the Lagan. This river has, by means of a canal, been made to communicate with Lough Neagh, into the upper part of which the Blackwater discharges itself. By this means, a very safe and expeditious navigation for lighters, and vessels of thirty to fifty tons, is opened from Belfast to Blackwater town, and from Newry to the same place, by which an active internal trade is capable of being extended; at present it is considerable. I visited the boarding-school, near Lisburn, for the education of the children of Friends, which appears to be conducted in an excellent manner. Mr. Druitt, the governor, took great pains to explain to me the principles on which it is regulated, and his method of keeping the accounts; both are, in my opinion, admirable.

3d. My friend proposed a drive to-day, for the purpose of viewing more particularly the town and neighbourhood of Belfast. The first place I went to see there was the house of correction, situated at the southern extremity of the town. Its form is an oblong square, fronting the north-west. The keeper's apartments are in the centre of the building; the right wing is occupied by females, and the left by males. The yards, workshops, and store-rooms are in the rear: the number of prisoners, male and female, is posted up each day at the entrance-gate. The greatest objection to this prison is that of its not being large enough to admit of classification among the number it has ordinarily to contain. For its internal government the most judicious rules have been laid down, and the zeal which Mr. Henry, the keeper, manifests in carrying them into execution does credit to the establishment.

Industry is carried to a great pitch; every prisoner

enjoys the advantage of being usefully employed; and the greatest punishment that seems to be feared among them is, to be condemned to idleness and solitude. This admirable system obviates the necessity of soldiers to guard the prison. The familiar adage, "He that has nothing to do will soon learn to do evil," has been fully exemplified in our gaols for centuries; but in this one the reverse is demonstrated. The women make up, mend, and wash all the linen used in the prison; they are also employed in spinning, knitting, making list-shoes, quilts, and mats of every description: several of them also have learned to weave calico. The men are employed in weaving both linen and cotton, chipping logwood, picking oakum, breaking stones, shoemaking, tailoring, paving, plastering, whitewashing, &c. in the prison.

A handsome and convenient sessions-house is just finished, within the precincts of the prison, at which the prisoners laboured regularly, which must have been a saving to the county. A man, named James Kelly, wove eighty yards a week of ten-hundred web, the wages paid for which were nine shillings and nine-pence; one-third of which was placed to his credit. Another man, of the name of Cameron, earned 5*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.*; and a woman, named Elizabeth Moore, earned thirty shillings by spinning. These facts need no comment, and the consequences to which they lead are obvious. One of the female prisoners from this place was received into the family of a clergyman more than three years ago, where she has remained ever since with a good character.

In a cell were two unfortunate men, covered with straw, labouring under insanity. Mr. Henry, the keeper, called to them, when one of them sprung up, and cried out, "Mary, get up; make haste, my dear:" the bewildered ima-

gination of the poor man made him believe the other to be his wife. What a humiliating picture! It appeared not proper to keep them together. It is, in my mind, wrong, under any circumstances, to keep lunatics in a gaol. To expect that discipline, however excellent, will prevent them from breaking through all regulations and disturbing the prison, must be vain. Mr. Henry told us he had often found the shower-bath of great service in bad cases: it must be admitted that this is a valuable remedy; but it is one, the administering of which should not be left to the discretion of a gaoler. In a separate asylum, the tempers of those objects of pity might be studied, and their malady greatly alleviated by kind treatment and patience. If it be within the reach of human efforts to promote a cure, I am certain that in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases of a thousand, this treatment will be most successful; and surely it must be the most congenial to the best feelings of our nature.

The dietary here is seven pounds of oatmeal, thirty-five pounds of potatoes, and seven pints of new milk, a week. This allowance of milk is not sufficient. Prisoners who behave particularly well, are allowed to purchase tea, sugar, bread, and butter.

4th.—A small party having been formed last evening, for the purpose of a visit to *Lough Neagh*, we set out this morning soon after breakfast. We took the Antrim road, which lies nearly N. W., and runs over several hills of considerable elevation. The country through which we drove is by no means so fine or fertile as that towards Belfast. Passed several patches of bog in which the people were engaged making turf. Potatoes, oats, and flax, are the principal crops in this county; wheat is but little cultivated. The soil appears to be a compound of dark gravel and yel-

low clay, in several places inclining to loam. I noticed several clusters of small quartzy pebbles, some with sharp angles, but most of them rounded by attrition: saw also masses of basalt.

Seven miles from Lisburn is a little village called Glenavy, built on the face of two small hills, with a river between. About three miles beyond Glenavy is a bleachgreen, where we left our vehicles; and Mr. Dickson, the proprietor, very obligingly walked with us down to the Lough, procured a boat, and accompanied us to Ram's-Island. On our way thither a perch was observed floating on its back: I took it up carelessly on my hand, having no doubt that it was dead; but after holding it several seconds, and turning it over two or three times, it sprang from me, and regained its native element.

After rowing about an hour and a half we reached Ram's-Island, which is most romantically situated as forming a portion of the beautiful scenery of the lake; its area is inconsiderable. The proprietor, the Right Honourable Earl O'Neill, has taken much pains for its improvement. Two cottages were nearly finished, which, I presume, could not have been planned after his lordship's taste, as they manifest a want both of elegance and convenience. Here are several full-grown apple-trees abundantly loaded with fruit, and others of various kinds are about to be put down.

On this island is one of those ancient monuments which have so greatly puzzled antiquarians; I mean, round towers. This one is forty-three feet high, and thirty-five and a half feet in circumference: the walls are two feet eight inches in thickness; it has a door and two windows. The door, which faces the south-west, has before it a single step of stone. The lower window is about seventeen feet from the ground, and looks towards the south-east; the other fronts the north,

and is about thirty feet from the ground. I shall not enter the lists with the many who have displayed profound and learned research, to inquire into the purposes for which those structures were originally designed: whatever may have been the use of the one in question, it is soon likely to furnish no longer a matter for argument, as it is verging to decay. One side has already given way, and although it has been buttressed with much care and skill, there is reason to think it will not stand much longer. There are many proofs that this island was formerly a place of resort for the religious, as several traces of a burying-ground have been lately discovered at the foot of the tower just mentioned.

While sauntering about the island, we picked up along the shore a few small calcedony pebbles, and calcareous incrustations resembling corallines of imperfect formation: beautiful specimens of the former are often found on the shores of the lake, and at a distance of a mile or two from its margin. Other pebbles, the lustre of which has obtained for them the name of "Lough Neagh brilliants," are occasionally found hereabouts; both sorts, in point of hardness, are ranked next to the diamond. Numerous experiments have determined the specific gravity of these stones to be 1.285; and their component parts 83 to 85 of pure silex, and 15 to 17 of argillaceous and aluminous matter.

In this neighbourhood are found the roots, and even the stems of trees, in a state of petrifaction more or less complete. These exhibit various light shades externally, and always assume a darker hue towards the centre, occasioned, probably, by the ligneous particles there not being extenuated. I had an opportunity of examining a large mass of this sort at the house of Mr. Dickson, before mentioned;

it was found in a field, two miles from the lake, and from two to three feet below the surface; I could not learn the matrix. The under surface was petrified to an extent of above seven inches, while on the other the petrifactive process had not extended beyond the depth of an inch and a half. The deeply petrified surface, when struck obliquely with a steel-hammer, emitted large sparks; the other yielded them less distinctly. Another mass of this kind, about eight pounds in weight, was shown me: on one side it gave out sparks freely, and on the opposite the ligneous quality was so perfect, that I cut it with an ordinary knife, and even scraped it off with my nail. Of the change here let the Huttonians explain the *modus operandi naturæ*. I have not as yet seen in the county of Antrim either granite or gneiss; but have often met with all their component parts, felspar, quartz, and mica, in an isolated state.

The appearance of the peasantry in general is decent and healthy; in neatness and cleanliness they greatly surpass those of any other place I have seen; the principal part of their clothing is of Irish manufacture. Such wretched huts as disfigure and disgrace other parts of the country are not seen here; even the cabins of that ill-fated and oppressed class of persons called cotters, a class though lately reduced, still too numerous, are often built with stone and mortar. Every reader may not know, perhaps, what is meant by the term *cotter*; he is a person whom a middleman, some three or four removes from the proprietor, permits to occupy a cabin with a piece of ground, generally a rood, from year to year without lease, for which the cotter agrees to pay at the rate of from five to ten pounds and upwards by the acre; but, as he never can make or save any money to pay a demand so uncon-

scionable, the middleman very *obligingly* takes the amount in labour, at the rate of from seven-pence to ten-pence a day without food."

The most noble, the Marquis of Hertford has an extensive estate in this neighbourhood; and I have often heard it remarked that his lands are let at a moderate rate. This certainly is a strong feature in the character of a good landlord, and tends much to establish a reputation; but there are many minor matters by which the happiness and prosperity of an industrious tenantry may be promoted, particularly an Irish tenantry, that, like the keeping, in a good picture, add embellishments to the main design, and render the portrait perfect and pleasing. In order to be of use in a country, a landlord should reside *some part* of the year upon his estate, and personally witness the condition of his tenants. His presence will stimulate to industry, and the expression of his approbation alone will often be thought an ample recompence for months of unwearied exertion: these are among the blessings which the poor people here have still to expect. The present Marquis has directed his agent to make many improvements in the town of Lisburn, and the roads in its vicinity, of a highly useful nature; but no agent, however zealous and enlightened, can compensate a country for the "*everlasting absence*" of its natural protector.

5th. — This day I visited a linen manufactory belonging to the Messrs. Coulston, the most curious and interesting establishment, I believe, in Ireland. It is confined exclusively to the manufacture of damask table-cloths and towels, in which it surpasses, probably, every similar establishment in any other country in the world. Noblemens' coats of arms, however complicated, are worked in with the neatest accuracy; and the proprietors evince consider-

able ingenuity and taste in the decorations of the field. One of those gentlemen most obligingly suspended the operations of six looms, to explain to me the principles of damasking. In the first loom the men were employed upon a cloth, twelve yards long, and three and a half broad, for the King; in the second was one for his excellency the Marquis Wellesley; in a third, one for his grace the Duke of Leinster; a fourth contained one for the late commander-in-chief in Ireland, Sir David Baird; and two others were in progress for particular clubs. Had I gone from London to Lisburn, and returned without seeing any thing but the admirable machinery of this manufactory, I would have thought myself well rewarded for the trouble of the journey.

6th. — Set out at an early hour this morning for Downpatrick, a distance of 16 miles. At no time can a fine country be seen to so much advantage as early in a summer's morning; and I enjoyed this luxury to-day in perfection, in company with my friend. We travelled several miles through the estate of the Marquis of Downshire, which evinces unequivocal and most gratifying assurance that some portion of its noble proprietor's time is spent at home. If report be true, the tenants on this estate pay higher rents than those of the neighbouring gentry; and, if any judgment may be formed from their appearance, they are much better able to pay them.

The crops are in general good; the houses, neatly built, are kept remarkably clean, and most of them have more or less planting around them. I have no difficulty in believing that the Marquis of Downshire is the best landlord in the North of Ireland. He has established something like an agricultural society for the benefit of his tenants. Small prizes are proposed; and gentlemen farmers,

whose respectability and experience qualify them for the duty, are appointed to decide on the merits of the competitors: the successful candidates receive the honour from the Marquis's own hand, accompanied by some compliment well calculated to encourage industrious efforts, not only in themselves, but in all those who are present.

Several schools have lately been established in this county, to which, I am informed, the Marquis has contributed liberally. Wheat appears to be more cultivated here, and oats less than in Antrim; potatoes and flax nearly the same in quantity. Stopped at Ballinahinch to feed our horse, and look at the town, which is said to be situated in the centre of the county. It has a decent parish church, two Dissenting meeting-houses, and a handsome Catholic chapel. At a short distance to the westward is *Montalto*, which formerly belonged to the Marquis of Hastings, and is now the property of Mr. Kerr, M. P., and brother-in-law to the Marquis of Londonderry. The grounds are handsomely laid out, and finely wooded.

The occurrences of 1798 gave to this town and neighbourhood a sort of consequence to which they had no previous claim. The insurgents took up a strong position in Montalto demesne, from which they were enticed by the superior address of the king's troops, stationed on a hill on the opposite side of the town. The unfortunate inhabitants must have suffered severely: their town was reduced to ashes, and what property they had was entirely destroyed.

There are wells near this place, impregnated with iron, I believe, and sulphur, the waters of which are reported to possess the extraordinary quality of curing *every disease*, if taken in *sufficient* quantity, and continued for a sufficient length of time. It is not to be wondered at that numbers have flocked hither in quest of an object so desirable; but

many a fond and long-cherished hope has ended in disappointment, occasioned, most probably, by the votarists of Hygeia not possessing the happy secret of knowing when they had *enough*.

Between Ballinahinch and Downpatrick there are patches of stony ground, with a superficial covering of yellow clay, which produces nothing but stunted whins (ulex europæus:) we noticed also some fields which appeared to have been recently planted with potatoes; but from the very advanced state of the season, there could be little hope of a crop here. A little to the southward, the land is much better: in the immediate vicinity of Downpatrick it is excellent; but that part of the country is very deficient in bog, which causes turf to be scarce and expensive. For fuel, therefore, they depend principally on coal, which is brought by water to Quoil quay, about a mile from the town. Near this is *Finebrogue*, a good house and pleasant grounds, belonging to Mr. Maxwell, M. P.

About ten we arrived at Downpatrick. After breakfast, visited the gaol, which is almost as bad as it is possible for a building of that sort to be. The construction renders classification, inspection, and employment utterly impracticable. Females of all descriptions, tried and untried, innocent and guilty, debtors and murderers, are all thrown together in one corrupting mass, and kept in a cell not near large enough. Sick or well, there they must remain both day and night. There were twenty-one thus confined when I saw it, one of whom had been sick four months: it would not have surprised me had they been all sick. Over this cell is a place where a school is kept; it contained several spinning-wheels, which is the only kind of industry in the prison.

The smell from some of the felons' cells was intolerably

offensive. The prison is insecure; and so wretchedly constructed, that, although room is much wanting, there is one yard of which no use is made; it is covered with weeds and long grass.* A school has also been established for the males; and this, as well as that for the females, has been productive of great good, notwithstanding the disadvantages that operated against them. As a hope is held out that "another prison will shortly be built, *or the old one enlarged*," to point out any more defects would be unnecessary. I will merely take the liberty to offer my unbiassed and disinterested opinion, that no enlargement or alteration can convert the present one into what a prison should be; the expence of making it even tolerable would go a considerable way towards the building of one on a commodious plan, in which the morals of the persons confined would not be deteriorated as at present.

Dietary.—Each person is allowed nine ounces of oatmeal, which, boiled with water, forms the article "*stirabout*," and half a pint of new milk, for breakfast; four pounds of potatoes and half a pint of new milk for dinner, with half an ounce of salt. *During the assize week* each prisoner gets four pounds of potatoes and half a pint of new milk for breakfast; sixteen ounces of oatmeal made into bread, and half a pint of new milk, for dinner.

Having seen the gaol we proceeded to visit the cathedral, a handsome edifice erected on the site of an old one, which tradition says was built by Saint Patrick. A grave was pointed out where the remains of this tutelary saint are said to have been deposited. The sessions-house is a noble building. There is a handsome Catholic chapel, a Presby-

* The unfitness of this prison was set forth by Judge Jebb, in his address to the Grand Jury at Down assizes, on the 5th of August last.

terian meeting-house, two Methodist chapels, an infirmary, and a free-school, which was founded, I was informed, by Lord de Clifford.

7th.—Had a very plesant drive of a few miles to see some ancient remains called the "Giant's Ring," in the county of Down. It is a circular plain of considerable elevation, containing about five acres, inclosed by a large mound of earth. In the centre of this plain a number of large stones were piled together, but not in such a manner as to indicate much labour in the construction. The whole bore strongly the resemblance of that sort of monument called *cromlech*, or of that description of tomb erected at Kit's-cotty House in Kent, in memory of Hengist and Horsa. The crops hereabouts are excellent; the ground rich and well cultivated; the country beautified with gentlemen's seats, and generally inhabited by people of a superior order. On the following day I returned to Armagh.

12th.—Spent the last three days in riding through the counties of Tyrone and Monaghan, many parts of which have no other characteristic than sheer poverty. Swarms of dirty, ragged children, without education, and pining in the utmost exposure of penury, gave an additional set-off to the meagre and squalid appearance of their parents, exciting at once feelings of commiseration and digust; whilst their miserable abodes compelled one to consider with astonishment how it was possible for human beings to exist in such circumstances; and yet the frame-work of both men and women indicates an excellent constitution of body.

This being the anniversary of the ever-memorable battle of the Boyne, a day hallowed in the calendar of certain persons in this part of the country, self-denominated *Orangemen*, and by them always devoted to unbounded

festivity, I was desirous to observe what might happen at a place where it was understood several bodies of them had determined to assemble. A small town called Middleton, about seven miles from Armagh, was the place of rendezvous appointed: the cause of this place being selected was openly declared by some of those brave, highminded gentry, and was simply this; — some three or four years back, a number of them had met as usual to celebrate the "*glorious memory*," and insult their fellow-subjects, the Catholics, who, at length, driven to resentment, repelled the aggressors, and the affray terminated in the glorious-memory-men getting "gloriously" thrashed. This stain on their chivalry they were determined to wipe off, and for this purpose their forces were this day to be concentred on the ground which had before been the theatre of defeat.

At an early hour the road between Dungannon and Caledon was crowded with men, boys, women, and children: most of them wore shoes, many had stockings, and all were provided with flags, scarfs, or ribands of an orange colour; some of these indeed were discoloured by smoke and soot-rain, but their owners (or more properly their wearers, for it was said that many of them were borrowed), did not appear to prize them the less on that account. The importance of the occasion was heightened by drums, fifes, and bugles, which produced exhilarating discord. Some of the Orangemen and *Orangewomen* were mounted on horses that appeared certainly to stand more in need of a feed of oats than the airing intended for them in this procession.

Having passed the preceding night at the house of a relation, close to the road, I was enabled to observe minutely every particular of this irregular and grotesque assemblage.

There lived in the neighbourhood a poor man, named John Beaviers, almost worn out by disease, — hœmoptysis had brought him to the verge of the grave. I had myself prescribed for him, and most rigidly enjoined abstinence and quiet: but so irresistible was the desire to swell the ultra-loyal ranks, that this infatuated creature was staggering along in the crowd, nobly supported by his wife. On my expressing astonishment and regret at the fatal folly of this man, an acquaintance who was standing by, and who was an Orangeman, said, "The boys must all show themselves; else how could we tell whether they are of the right or wrong sort?" I asked, would any of those "right or wrong" fellows support the poor man's widow and children if he were called from them. This seemed treading on tender ground; — I got no reply, and my "right or wrong" friend walked off, not at all pleased at my curiosity.

It would appear that part of the infantry, I mean the Orangewomen, got tired on the march, as many of them were seen returning during the forenoon, not preserving the best possible order. Their native thriftiness, which had been awhile smothered by orange ardour, seemed to revive with increased keenness; for most of those who in the morning wore stockings and shoes, had now divested themselves of those unusual, and to them unnecessary, incumbrances. About three in the afternoon I rode to Caledon, a distance of four miles; the way was strewed with orange-lilies, and at particular places were thrown over it triumphal arches, decorated with orange-festoons, and garlands innumerable. The scene was quite delightful, and reminded me of the fabled stories of fairy-land I had read at school.

From Caledon I had three miles further to travel to Middleton; and this road would have been more enchanting, if possible, than the former, had it not been rendered

less so by meeting straggling parties of the Orangemen, who had taken a premature departure from the aggregate body; not, however, before they had laid in a large store of whiskey and irresistible loyalty. So desirous were they of an opportunity to display this exalted sentiment, that the cry, "Five pounds for the face of a black-*mouth Papish*," (meaning, I suppose, Papist,) was shouted incessantly. Many of them were mounted on horses, which, I knew, were not their own; almost every horse had two riders; and the violence with which those half-starved animals were driven, fully verified the old saying, "Borrowed horses have hard hoofs." It was really disgusting to hear the shout from boys whose ages could not have exceeded sixteen or seventeen years; but some of whom, it would seem, were officers, as they bore standards, and were invested with other insignia indicative of authority.

About half-way between Caledon and Middleton, I met a large body of them; they had fourteen flags, each of which, I was told, belonged to a distinct lodge. In this crowd, I should think, there were between eleven and twelve hundred persons; and I can safely and solemly assert, that in the whole number there was not one decent-looking individual. This did not disappoint me; for I was assured that men who had any pretensions to respectability could not be found in brotherhood, or in any way associating with such *canaille*. I do not mean to say that decent-looking men are not to be found in the Orange ranks at all: I am acquainted with some gentlemen of respectability belonging to that association, who would reflect credit on any institution; but I cannot believe they would so entirely forget what they owe to society as gentlemen, and to themselves as men, to herd with such persons as have just been noticed.

The latter part of the road to Middleton exhibited a more complete picture of drunkenness and violence than the former. Extirpation of the unoffending Catholics was a cherished object. In the arms of apparent death, the faint cry of "Five pound—for the face of a—black-*moutht* Papish," was the last articulate sound that could be collected from those heroes, when they fell overwhelmed by the effects of extreme intoxication.

Having heard some of the Orangemen, several weeks before this, avow their determination to avenge some indignity that had been offered to their party on a former occasion, and knowing that a considerable portion of the population of that part of the country were Catholics, who, it was reasonable to suppose, would oppose force to violence, I apprehended serious consequences from the agitation that was likely to prevail; but was much pleased to find less riot and confusion in the town than I expected. Most of the Orangemen had left it; and as those who remained could find no Catholics to fight with, a quarrel there could not easily be excited. It is barely doing justice to say, that the conduct of the Catholics this day was orderly, decent, and peaceable in a most creditable degree.

After sauntering through the town about an hour, and witnessing many acts of extravagance, I proceeded to Blackwater Town, and that short journey presented a striking contrast to the parade of the morning. The condition of one of the "ultras" was both ludicrous and disgusting. A great many falls had extensively rent the hinder part of his nankeen trowsers, which was not observable as he lay on the ground; but some kind friends, desirous of getting him home, placed him across the back

of a horse, as they would *spoleen* or horse-beef*, his arms and head hanging down on one side, and his legs on the other, which exposed the accident. Dangling in this position, sickness speedily came on; and, in all probability, apoplexy would have terminated his "glorious" career, had I not interposed, and requested them to set him down. While suspended across the back of the horse, his loyalty must have experienced considerable diminution, as it was escaping at both extremities.

Others of these worthies, having exhausted their loyal abuse on the yielding air, had supplied the vacuum with copious libations to the demon of ebriety, and were getting home with various proofs of constitutional ability; but many were incapable of proceeding unless supported by their wives or sisters, who, expecting this result, had come to their assistance. The scene resembled groups of *calibahs* intermingled with angelic forms, who were smiling with sober compassion on the unwieldy and senseless burdens they endeavoured to help along. What pity that men should deprive themselves of the blessings of reason, and be rendered incapable of appreciating the enjoyment of civil liberty amidst the delights and charms of female society!

In the transactions of this day, so far as they fell under my observation, the peace was preserved, in spite of the innumerable premeditated efforts made to the contrary, and bloodshed only prevented by the forbearance of the insulted class. Every hostile intention to produce battle lost its object in the grave contempt of those it was meant

* Lean beef of young cattle, exposed for sale on market-days, laid across horses' backs by way of stalls; a circumstance frequent in the towns of Ulster.

to injure; it is probable that very serious mischief would have ensued were it not for the praiseworthy moderation of the Catholics.

One atrocity, notwithstanding, was committed in the neighbourhood, and the unhappy occurrence is sufficiently demonstrative of the spirit which actuates the human mind when its impulses are at variance with the principles of social life. A party of those whom I had seen at Middleton, on their return, got hold of a poor Catholic, and beat him unmercifully;—he died of the abuse shortly afterwards.

It was reasonable to expect that some steps would be taken to bring the perpetrators of so foul a crime to justice; but the magistrates of the district manifested, in this instance, a spirit of forbearance and forgiveness of which they had never before been suspected: the delinquents were left at large to follow their avocations, and pursue their pleasures, as if nothing had happened. Had they chosen, they might have performed similar exploits the next and succeeding days, *ad libitum*, without molestation from the local authorities.

I foresee the incredulity of the English reader, who will stare and exclaim, "*Impossible!* why should such an unnatural state of things exist in a country under the protection of British justice?" Let him go to the spot, he will soon discover the cause of the anomaly. Thousands there will tell him, "It's no wonder they are spared; are not they all Orangemen, and two of them sons of Justice * * *, the rector?" Let the question be fairly asked, even of the magistrates themselves, the whole mass of prejudice lying between their mode of reasoning and the conviction of the fact—if a party of Catholics had fallen on, and murdered an Orangeman, would they have so

slumbered on their post? Would not the utmost vengeance of the law have pursued the wretch who had wantonly dipped his hands in the innocent blood of his neighbour? Would not the applause of every honest heart have accompanied the effort which would drag the offender before that upright judge, to whose impartiality and firmness the country is indebted for having fixed this very enormity upon the records of the bench?*

15th. Feelings of irritation and ill-will among the lower classes of both parties have been manifested, in some parts of the country, since the assembling of the Orangemen on the 12th. A farmer of respectability, a Protestant, related to me a petty incident of this nature, of which he was an eye-witness, nor did he scruple to give his opinion in terms of unqualified reprobation. It was this. On Sunday, the 14th, while a priest was officiating in a Catholic chapel at Killiman, a party of Orangemen marched up and down before the door, playing a party tune, which is known to

* The interesting and creditable observations which follow, were made by Judge Jebb, at the Armagh assizes, in reference, not so much to the Orange murders, in that quarter, on the 12th of July, as to the gross and scandalous contempt of all law and justice evinced by certain worthies in allowing the murderers to escape.

His lordship said he had been informed a long time since, several weeks ago, so far back as the 12th of this month, a homicide had been committed; that, by the verdict of a coroner's inquest, he was warranted in stating it a foul murder; and though committed in the noonday, near the residence of magistrates, in a populous county, and the immediate neighbourhood of several resident gentlemen, no person appeared on the calendar for trial, for its perpetration. Such a circumstance is highly discreditable to the county; bespeaks the want of an efficient police most strongly, and great apparent neglect. One individual, it appears, is charged on the inquest with the offence, and all that the court could do should be done to effect his apprehension. Bench warrants should be issued, and if any indictments should be sent to them, they were only to examine the witnesses sent by the crown;—

be exceedingly offensive to Catholics. The congregation felt the insult acutely: their numerical superiority enabled them to resent and punish it. A general engagement was prevented only by the active interference of the priest, who, exerting all his powers of persuasion, the only authority attached to his profession, happily succeeded in restraining his indignant flock,—an effect which, perhaps, no other human means could have accomplished.

The same day furnished myself with an opportunity of witnessing a disposition to make reprisals, evinced by the Catholics, about thirty of whom proceeded in a close body through a hamlet, called Carrick-colman, inhabited almost exclusively by Orangemen. These fellows were provided with bludgeons, which they brandished in defiance to the Orangemen, whom they were taught by long experience to regard as natural enemies. This hostile movement was occasioned, it is said, by an occurrence long anterior to the 12th of July.

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they were not to do as a former grand jury, many years ago, when none of the present members, he supposed, could have been on it, had done, to inquire into the merits of the transaction. Whilst noticing this circumstance, his lordship said he felt it his duty to call most seriously on the magistrates and gentlemen of influence in the county to put an end to those disgraceful exhibitions;—it was their duty to do so as magistrates, and he earnestly exhorted to a performance of it. They should appoint as their police, proper young men of good character who will have their orders complied with; and they should, in their appointment of these, discard private influence. He instanced to them the county of *Louth* and the efficiency of its police, and, without wishing to say any thing that could be supposed as in any manner hurtful to that county, in the county of *Armagh* its yeomanry stood pre-eminently conspicuous for good conduct; therefore, by a proper attention to its police, by the selection of able, effective men, this disgraceful outrage, which he had to notice, would not probably have occurred; nor would the perpetrators of a foul murder pass without apprehension. See the *Dublin Weekly Register*, Supplement, August 3. 1822.

At a cottage, or small farm house in the neighbourhood, an itinerant fiddler was accommodated with a night's lodging, and the use of a barn, to give a dance to the peasantry, who, when the labour of the day was over, assembled in considerable numbers. In the midst of their innocent pastime, a lad who, it appears, was an Orangeman and a yeoman, took offence at some one of the dancers, and presently left the house. He went directly to the hamlet and roused several of the yeomen, who sprung from their beds, fixed on their accoutrements, and with their muskets sallied forth to punish the imaginary insult sustained by a brother. The dancers, alarmed at the report of an armed party coming, took to their heels, and were hotly pursued by those redoubted guardians of public peace and constitutional liberty; nor was the hunt discontinued until the affrighted fugitives found refuge in the "Brantry Wood," shooting-grounds, belonging to the earl of Caledon.

There are persons, I doubt not, who will look upon these circumstances as unworthy of any notice; or at least undeserving of a place even in the unassuming page of a tourist. In such an opinion I feel it impossible to concur. History, like the theory of botany, may be learned at school, or studied in the cabinet; but he that wishes to understand either thoroughly, must derive his knowledge from actual observation, and careful inquiry in the book of nature. Correct notions of the genius, disposition, and condition of the Irish, must be gained from scenes in real life, else they will not be gained at all. The events just mentioned are the natural, the inevitable consequences of a system to which the vital interests of that country have for centuries been blindly sacrificed. However trifling, in the aggregate of national concerns, such occurrences may

appear, they have a powerful tendency to perpetuate feuds, and to sever the last remaining link in the great chain of civil life, by which nature binds social man to his fellow-man. Instead of this divine union, what do we behold? Hatred and a base spirit of revenge, are often the only property that a father has to transmit to his child; these bad passions are fostered in the cradle, nourished during adolescence, and carefully brought to a luxuriant maturity. There is not, I will venture to say, a seminary in the north of Ireland, from the first-rate academy down to the humblest hedge-school, that does not furnish convincing illustrations of this proposition. If this frightful statement be correct, and it fearlessly challenges contradiction, should it not be a paramount consideration in the executive to dry up the source whence such deadly evils spring?

That those animosities are kept up and increased by the annual processions and extravagancies of Orangeism, I presume no candid and impartial man, who has any personal knowledge of the country, can question. I would dispassionately ask the upholders of this association what benefits has it conferred on the country? Has Ireland ever derived from it aught but jealousy, discontent, and sanguinary discord? Its advantages, if it have any, are known to very few: its baneful consequences, who does not know? It has been said that the institution was established on the basis of unshaken loyalty, and that at the time of its formation it was necessary to the salvation of the country. The former I doubt not; the latter, as it rests on mere speculative assertion, unsupported by evidence, or the shadow of probability, is wholly inadmissible. But, for the sake of argument, suppose it were true, will any man in his senses pretend to say that an association,

once useful, should be continued after it has not only ceased to do good, but has become absolutely and extensively pernicious?

The Orange institution has existed nearly thirty years, a period amply sufficient to develope and determine its tendency. If the general welfare of the country were the object of its founders, they must now surely be satisfied of its inadequacy to an end so patriotic and praiseworthy. If, on the other hand, the design originated in selfish motives, which must be advanced at the expence of the nation, their hopes in this regard may have been answered; but in either case the necessity of abolishing it now, out of consideration of the general good, is obvious and imperative. Let the experiment be tried. Let Orangeism be laid in the grave for a period as long as it has lived, and, at the expiration of the next thirty years, there will not be found a well-wisher of Ireland to vote for its resurrection.

16th. During the last two days I rode through a considerable part of the county of Monaghan *; and to-day I visited the gaol in the town, in company with the local inspector, the Rev. Charles Evatt. The new gaol is in progress, and will be finished, it is expected, by the end of the year. The plan of this prison is good, and it promises well to be a useful institution. There will be seventy-seven dormitories for criminals, with appropriate day and working rooms. The gaoler's house is to be in the centre, and will command a view of all the yards, of which there are to be ten. The great desideranda, classification, inspection, and employment, being secured, strong

* The county of Monaghan ranks 27th on the geographical scale, being 509 square miles in extent, with a population of 414 to the square mile; the total, therefore, is 210,726, of which number the Catholics appear to be 184,385.

hopes may be reasonably indulged from their combined influence. The old gaol is so completely a sink of wretchedness and infamy, that a description of it would disgust any one of ordinary sensibility; I therefore refrain from noticing it further, more particularly as it will not be necessary to use it much longer as a prison. In this receptacle of misery I saw three genteel-looking young men, who had been concerned in a duel, which proved fatal to the son of an apothecary.

The Rev. Mr. Evatt obligingly conducted me to the sessions-house, in one of the rooms of which a "Hibernian school" is conducted under his own immediate auspices. There were present one hundred and thirty-three children, of whom eighty-eight belonged to Catholics, who, Mr. Evatt said, neither could nor would send them to a school where any expence was to be incurred. The New Testament class was called up while we were there; each of the children in turn repeated, from memory, a verse from the gospel of St. John, very correctly; only two of them made any mistake.

18th. To-day rode through a district in the county of Tyrone, called the Brantry, Carrickcastle, and Carnteel, which presented an exceedingly miserable appearance. The quality of the land generally was very indifferent; the tenants poor, and unable to cultivate it in such a manner as to give any hope of a return. I inquired after several poor tenants whom I had known twenty years ago, but they were nearly all gone, and quite forgotten. Being unable to pay their rents, they were ejected from their holdings, and turned adrift upon the world; their places were supplied by others, who, in their turn, two or three years after, shared the same fate: in some places there had been four generations or occupiers within a dozen years.

An intelligent farmer quaintly answered a question I put to him, by saying, " The gentlemen in this place, Sir, are doing nothing but swopping beggars, (meaning tenants,) and they constantly get the worst of the bargain, for the new-comers are always worse than the old."

Sandstone abounds in this part of the country, and the soil is difficult of labour from the stiffness of its quality. No wheat is attempted to be raised in the northern parts of the county; potatoes, flax, and oats are the usual crops; patches of barley and rye are met with occasionally, but these latter crops are by no means abundant.

20th. Slept at the house of a friend in Carrick-colman the last two nights, where I had sojourned four or five times before, and had the pleasure to hear a party of Orangemen serenade the hamlet *every* night with a band, consisting of drums, great and small, with fifes and bugles. There is something so truly delightful in the unaffected happiness attending the sports and amusements of the labouring poor, when the grateful return of evening allows them to relax from the toils of the day, that any disapprobation of their innocent pastime is liable to be construed into fastidious ill-nature. I have no desire to incur such an imputation, yet I cannot help strongly advising that the party-tunes, now selected for the amusement of the villagers, be exchanged for others of a less offensive and inflammatory character.

21st. Rode many miles to-day through Tyrone, northward by Ballygawley, and saw nothing but dirt, poverty, and wretchedness. The country abounds in hills, here called mountain, covered with heath, (erica vulgaris,) and strewed with miserable hovels, to each of which are attached a few yards of badly-cultivated ground, which only makes the barrenness that prevails the more conspicuous.

Hares and illicit distillers are the only animals that appear to thrive in this district, and it would be difficult to say which are the more abundant. I found the hospitality of the latter quite an annoyance: having drunk no spirits for many years, I was unable to comply with their importunate desire to "just taste it, man," and my non-compliance gave general offence. Some appeared to regard me with jealousy, and expressed suspicions of my being an exciseman; they said it was not likely that a gentleman would spend his time for nothing, riding through a country where he had no business.

Many of their hovels were constructed by placing long sticks in a slanting position against a high bank, and covering them with scraws; these were afterwards thatched with heath, and as they did not project above the level of the heathy bank, they could not be easily discovered or distinguished by a stranger, until he came close upon them. The doors of these huts, if doors they can be called, are formed by two perpendicular sticks, and five cross ones, somewhat resembling a gate of rude workmanship, having the interstices filled with ropes made of straw, worked in after the manner of a basket.

Persons desirous of *extra* comfort plaster these doors with a substance composed of tenacious clay and cow-dung, which renders them impermeable to the severe winds of winter, or rather helps to make the hut a little less wretched, for the word *comfort* cannot with propriety be in any way applied to such places. Their bed (they seldom have more than one) is generally formed of straw, frequently of green heath, spread on the ground: a blanket or horse-rug is commonly used for a covering, but very often they have nothing but their ordinary ragged garments, and these they seldom divest themselves of, even

for repose, as long as they can be made to stick together. These nests are used as dormitories, not *only* for the father, mother, and all the children, — the pigs, goats, or cows, if they are fortunate enough to possess such inmates, all inhabit the same mansion, and partake of the same bed if possible.

I happened to pass near a place where five men and a young female were regaling over a bottle of whisky, for the purpose, as they said, of "christening Donald's castle." This Donald had been married the day before, but having no house to live in, four good-natured neighbours volunteered their services to assist him and his bride to construct one. They accordingly had assembled at day-light this morning, and in thirteen hours they completed their task: the "castle" was finished, and the newly married couple were to sleep in it that very night! Green heath composed the bed, a row of sods was to serve for a pillow, and Donald's "big coat" with Sally's cloak had to answer for bed-clothes.

In the summer months it is difficult to ascertain, with any degree of correctness, the number of persons belonging to a house; for, during June, July, and August, it will frequently be without a single inhabitant at all. It is customary here, and in many other parts of Ireland, when a bit of ground is sown with oats, and another spot is planted with potatoes, for the cabin to be closed, and the family to "take the country," that is, to travel into distant counties, and beg along until their potatoes and corn are nearly ripe. When the family is large, it is usual for the father and mother, after making a division of the children, to take different roads, and each to tell a woful tale of having been lately left a widow, or widower, as the case may be; to deplore the loss of an affectionate partner,

which reduces the survivor to the heart-rending necessity of soliciting alms to save a helpless family from starving.

As far as I can collect from private friends, and other persons well acquainted with the country, the number of children in a cabin is seldom less than four, and that it would average *above five*, which, with the parents, would give at least seven to every cottage or house. Taking them at five and a half, as I have done, I am quite sure that every estimate of the total population is considerably under, rather than above the truth. From the first moment I was capable of making observations, I have invariably found the increase of children in Ireland to be in an inverse proportion to the means possessed by their parents to support them, namely, that the poorest persons in the country have always been the most prolific; and the more I see of the country, the more decided is my conviction of that remarkable fact. I have often seen nine, ten, and eleven children, all of one family, — some ragged, others quite naked, existing, rather than living, in places that would shock the humanity of an English gentleman to see his dogs or his swine driven into.

In my excursion to-day I entered a cabin while the family were at dinner; the repast consisted of dry potatoes only, which were contained in a basket set upon the pot in which they had been boiled; this was placed on the floor in the middle of the cabin. The father was sitting on a stool, and the mother on a kreel of turf; one of the children had a straw boss; the youngest was sprawling on the floor, and five others were standing round the potato-basket. On seeing me enter, the man rose up, and offering me his stool, made a confused apology for his homely fare, and expressed his regret that he had neither whiskey nor milk to give me. He said to his wife, in a sort of loud whisper, "May be the

gentleman will taste the *bull's milk:*" she signified her fear that it was too sour, "but such as it is," said she, smiling, "the gentleman is welcome to it, and if it was *crame* or wine, he would be welcome too." I declined this civility, but knowing how much these poor people are gratified by a stranger's eating or drinking with them, I took a potato, which not being boiled enough, I put down, and took up another, and another, but all were equally hard. The man instantly put one into the hot turf-ashes to have it better cooked for me. He said, "*We always have our praties hard, they stick to our ribs, and we can fast longer that way.*"

The term "bull's-milk" will be unintelligible to most English readers, and, I regret to say, there are thousands of Irish whose ears are too finely attuned to bear the rude shock of such vulgar sounds, — whose eyes are too delicate to look for an instant on the afflictions of their desponding countrymen, and whose hearts are made of materials by far too *genteel* to relieve or pity the agonies of a starving family. I assure myself of the humane reader's indulgence for this digression. There is a wide difference between the feelings that will be elicited by witnessing distress in real life, and seeing an imperfect account of it on paper: if any man can contemplate such scenes without feeling as much indignant concern as I do, I will patiently endure his censure and his scorn. With regard to the peasant's beverage just mentioned, it is thus prepared: — A quantity of unsifted ground oats, called seed-meal, the same materials from which flummery, or sowins, is made, is left to ferment in a very large proportion of water. When fully acidulated by the action of the atmosphere, it is poured off and reserved for use, and may not unaptly be compared to diluted vinegar. Even this, "such as it is," is in general sparingly used to kitchen the scanty meal of potatoes, which are not unfrequently

eaten in a half-boiled state, from motives of pitiable economy, such as has been noticed in the instance of this poor family.

23d. Early this morning left Ballygawley for Omagh, a distance of fourteen miles; the road is good, but the country is exceedingly dreary. A great many of the cabins are not much better than those I had seen the two preceding days; the roofs are often irregularly covered by nature with a green sward, which at a little distance strongly resembles a long-neglected dunghill. On a nearer approach, the neck of a broken bottle, an old tea-cup, and sometimes a *brogue*, (an old shoe,) fixed on the end of a stick, and placed over the door, apprizes the traveller that what at first he, perhaps, mistook for a dunghill, is a house of entertainment!—a place where smuggled whiskey is publicly vended in defiance of the numerous absurd and oppressive measures which the Board of Excise has adopted for its prevention, but which, in stead of effecting this, have proved a curse to the country and a greater scourge to the innocent than the guilty.

On many of these humble taverns is written up, "Good dry lodgings," meaning every possible accommodation for the weary pedestrian, of which a notification is variously announced, such for instance as that already mentioned. Sometimes a wisp of straw, tied to the end of a long rod, projecting upwards from the door, promises only a bed; sometimes a turf, with a tobacco-pipe suspended as the former, indicates a higher kind of entertainment, consisting of tea, sugar, and tobacco; but if a besom be set up, the traveller may rest assured of refreshment of the very best kind, in which is included whiskey "of the right sort, that never saw the face of a gauger." It is needless to say, that all these are given with a hearty welcome, which takes

away every ground of complaint regarding the erroneous boast of *dry lodgings*, as, should rain descend, there is nothing scarcely to prevent its visitation.

Arrived in Omagh at 10, and at noon renewed my ride through the neighbourhood, which is tolerably well cultivated immediately around the town; but in every direction at the distance of four or five miles, the prospect is dreary and forbidding.

24th. At ten visited the county gaol, in company with the Reverend Mr. Stack, the local inspector. This prison enjoys all the advantages that can result from excellence of situation, being built on a rising ground, the salubrity and cheerfulnes of which are augmented by a river of considerable magnitude in front. It is, however, much to be regretted, that situation is almost the only good quality belonging to this establishment. Badly constructed, it manifests the same disregard of classification, inspection, and employment, which characterize all the old prisons in the country.

Want of proper room renders a commixture of debtors and misdemeanants unavoidable. There are no day-rooms; the cells of the debtors are fitted up with two rows of beds, one above the other; two sleep in a bed, and fourteen usually occupy a cell. The provisions are cooked in the cells, which makes it difficult or impossible to keep them clean; some of them were so completely filled with steam and smoke, that for some time after entering I could not distinguish any object. Cells seven feet by six and a-half, contain two tenants generally, but six and more *have been* crammed into one of them at night, not, it may be easily supposed, for the purpose of sleeping, for that was scarcely possible.

Tried and untried form one undistinguished and corrupt

assemblage here; and to secure, it would seem, the diffusion and complete influence of moral contagion, condemned felons are kept twelve and fifteen months, and even longer, with the untried, of whom many are subsequently acquitted, but not one ever returns to society uncontaminated. This evil, it may be here remarked, exists in every gaol that I have yet seen in Ireland. The reverse of that wise judicial maxim, which presumes that *every man is innocent until he is found guilty*, appears here only to obtain; for the moment a person is taken up, whether innocent or guilty, infamy more or less attaches to his name ever after, how pure soever his life may happen to be, and this not unfrequently urges to desperation, and to acts of confirmed criminal habits.

Females have one yard, in which those presumed to be innocent must associate with those *proved* guilty. Employment is scarcely heard of; a few of the females have spinning-wheels, but none of them were in use. Male prisoners acquainted with sedentary trades, are allowed to work at them, if they can procure work, but instruction in that respect is impracticable. A school has been established, but I had not an opportunity of witnessing its efficacy.

One hundred and forty-five is the number of persons confined in this prison at the present date. Fourteen are lunatics, the condition of two of whom is truly afflicting to the observer. Both these poor creatures, females, were quite naked, but could not be prevailed on to wear any clothes, for they immediately tore into rags such as were offered to them. They were sitting on straw, and appeared by no means insensible of shame; the moment the door was opened, they fell on their faces, and endeavoured to hide themselves in the straw. The cells in which these unhappy

creatures are confined, are by far too small; there are three females in one, and five males in another. The allowance of provision is four stone of potatoes, seven and a half pounds of oatmeal, and seven pints of new milk per weak to each prisoner.

It is gratifying to know that the grand jury have presented eight thousand pounds for the purpose of erecting a new prison. The reverend Mr. Stack shewed me a plan of the new one, which has been approved of and accepted. It was submitted by Mr. John Hargrave, an architect, in whom first-rate talent, unwearied industry, and inflexible integrity, are said to be united. I have myself had opportunities of seeing extensive buildings erected under that gentleman's superintendence, which were admirably designed and equally well executed. The high character Mr. Hargrave bears, I believe deservedly, is a good pledge to the public, that those infamous collusions and flagrant acts of dishonesty, called JOBS, which are so generally and justly complained of in Ireland, will here be prevented. Under such circumstances a hope may reasonably be indulged, that a useful edifice will be constructed.

The Rev. Mr. Stack having politely urged me to dine with him to-day, I spent a few hours riding over grounds of his some miles out of town, which he was reclaiming and greatly improving. I afterwards rode through Mountjoy park, and the extensive demesne belonging to the Earl of Blessington, which are rich and well laid out, but not kept in the best order. I had travelled through this part of the country seventeen years before, and within that time it has undergone little improvement.

The town of Omagh is certainly advancing, in consequence of some little exertion made by two or three gentle-

men of property. The market was formerly held on Thursday, but has been changed to Saturday, to suit the convenience of the linen merchants who have to attend other markets in the neighbourhood, and this gives increased briskness to the trade. There is an excellent court-house here, standing on an eminence fronting the principal street, whence it is seen to great advantage; one disadvantage it has, however, namely, its being too remote from the goal. There is a church, a Presbyterian meeting-house, a Catholic chapel, a Methodist meeting-house, and two schools; the latter are said to be well conducted. There is a very good infirmary, that does credit to Mr. Maxwell, the surgeon.

25th. Started at four this morning, and proceeded to Strabane, a distance of fourteen miles: thence I crossed over to Lifford, the assize town of the county of Donegal, situated at the verge of the county, which must be a very great inconvenience to those who, residing at the opposite boundary, have to resort hither for justice or other county business. There is no inn here to afford even ordinary accommodation for a traveller. I stopped at a house of entertainment which is considered the best in the place, and "bad is the best," in this instance most correctly applies.

My horse was received and fed by a female hostler, who shortly afterwards appeared in the character of a waiter, and attended me at breakfast. It had rained heavily at intervals during several preceding days, which produced a considerable swell in the river, a circumstance that always brings shoals of salmon from the sea; and every labouring man and boy in the town was engaged in trying to catch them, which occasioned the hostler's duty to devolve on a female. However badly this duty was performed, still it

was gratifying to know that even one day in the year could afford employment to every one. Many a poor creature is now busily engaged who for weeks had been pining in idleness and hunger. Fine salmon is offered for sale at three-pence a pound, but there are few buyers.

After breakfast I waited on the Rev. Mr. Graham, local inspector of the prison, who accompanied me to the lunatic asylum, a place I shall always think on with horror. From its situation, being partly under ground, it is dark, damp, unhealthy, and every way wretched. Although not quite unaccustomed to scenes of misery, the objects I beheld here were quite appalling: the stench that issued from some of the dungeon-cells, the walls of which are so prodigiously thick, as to give a notion that the place was originally made bomb-proof, was so loathsome that, to use a vulgar but expressive phrase, "it would knock down a horse."

Before I was able to enter any of these shocking apartments, I certainly thought there must be great want of attention to cleanliness on the part of the attendants, but when a light was brought I was soon undeceived; ventilation alone was wanting: the cells had been recently whitewashed, and were as clean, and altogether in as good order as the monstrous structure of the apartments would admit. The wretched inmates flocked around Mr. Graham, to whom most of them had some little request to prefer; and the manner in which he complied with some, evaded others, and conciliated all, at once convinced me that he was deeply versed in the knowledge of the human heart. They all approached him as a kind, indulgent father, and his treatment of them appeared well calculated to inspire such sentiments. Some of these unhappy maniacs expressed a strong desire for new potatoes, which were just then in season, and sold at a high rate; but the feeling heart of the philan-

thropic divine could not refuse;—he desired three of themselves to go into his garden, and dig a basketful for their companions.

Since Mr. Graham has had charge of this institution, a greater number of persons has been restored to the blessings of sanity than in any other of similar extent in the kingdom, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the building before mentioned. His system is comprised in two words, *kindness* and *patience*. Were lunatics caged up here as they are in many places else, the impure state of the air would, in a short time, put a period to their earthly sorrows; but its pernicious effects are here counteracted, in a great degree, by the manner in which they are *employed*. In places where any ordinary prisoner is doomed to idleness, it must sound strangely to talk of employing lunatics; yet, however strange, it is here accomplished. Mr. Graham had *thirteen working* in the *fields*, and eight others amusing themselves all around. He manages so completely to secure their affections, that very few of them ever think of running away. There are thirty-three in all, nor has any one of them been visited with the *deranging* effects of corporal punishment.

From this place we proceeded to the gaol, which is an exceedingly bad one; the advantages of classification, inspection, and employment, being wholly unknown. This state of disorder is aggravated by the introduction of smuggled whiskey, which, in the present state of the prison, there is no possible way of preventing. Mr. Graham assured me, that the number of persons confined every year for offences against the revenue laws was great beyond belief. Whiskey of the best quality is publicly — fearlessly sold in the town and neighbourhood, without paying duty. "Pure Inishowen" for five shillings a gallon; and, in

the country parts, considerably cheaper. If the Excise Board were to offer a premium on illicit distillation, it is a matter of doubt, whether it would be so extensively practised as it now is, under the fostering care of their *preventive* regulations.

Besides the thirty-three lunatics in the asylum, there are eight in the gaol; there are also ninety-two other prisoners, twenty of whom are debtors. There is one man, Alexander M'Mullin, who was tried last assizes for a felonious offence and acquitted, but who is still kept in confinement, on what grounds neither the gaoler, the sheriff, nor the clerk of the crown, could inform me. The dietary rate is, thirteen pounds of oatmeal and seven quarts of butter-milk a week. The hospital allowance is, ten pounds of oatmeal, four pounds four ounces of best bread, seven quarts of new milk, and seven quarts of butter-milk a week; wine and meat at the discretion of the physician. There is a new prison in progress, under the superintendence of Mr. John Hargrave, which is expected to be finished early in the ensuing year.

The prisoners here were, in general, more desponding than those I had seen in any other gaols; but that may, in a great degree, be attributed to the too free use of whiskey. Mr. Graham sat a long while with each, pouring into their sorrowing minds the heavenly balm of religion, which seldom fails to tranquillize the most agonized feelings: pitiable, indeed, is the wretch to whom it can yield no consolation. In this instance its soothing effects were very perceptible. This venerable gentleman appeared to find so easy an access to the hearts of all the sons of affliction whom he addressed, that I could not help feeling a strong interest in knowing more of him: of this a polite invitation to his house furnished an immediate opportunity.

I found him fraught with information on almost every topic, and the readiness he manifested to satisfy every inquiry relative to the state of the country, will keep me long his debtor. Our conversation insensibly turned from statistical to literary subjects, and on every one Mr. Graham appeared to be a proficient. He shewed me a large collection of manuscript compositions in prose and verse; in them he said he sometimes "whiled away" a tedious hour. Were they published, I am quite sure there are thousands who would pass away an hour most delightfully in perusing them.

In originality of conception, fertility of imagination, and richness of diction, some of his poems are little inferior to some first-rate works in the English language; whilst, instead of poisoning the minds of youthful readers, as has been the infamous tendency of some highly-finished poetical works every day issuing from the press, the scope of these is to inspire the mind with a love of virtue, and to establish principles of morality on religion, its only true and immoveable basis. In this most agreeable society I spent four hours, without feeling that time was passing, but an engagement to meet a friend in Derry compelled me most reluctantly to depart.

Quarries of basalt and stratified sandstone have been opened in several parts of Donegal *, in situations that bear evident indications of the existence of coals. A very fine specimen of galena (sulphuret of lead) has been given me by the Rev. Mr. Graham, which, it is said, is clandestinely brought in considerable quantities into Lifford, and

* Donegal stands *fifth* upon the list of counties, and contains 1725 square miles, which at 168 souls to the square mile, give a total population of 289,800, of whom 248,400 are Catholics.

sold by the whiskey smugglers, who are supposed to be acquainted with the place where it is found; and it is thought that this valuable mineral is procured from some parts of the Earl of Leitrim's estate.

From Lifford to Londonderry is eleven miles, the road good, and some spots of the country pretty well cultivated. Arrived at seven in the afternoon. The country through which I have been travelling for the last six days is thus spoken of by Mr. Wakefield, whose extensive work may be consulted with great advantage by every one desirous of obtaining detailed information on the general state of Ireland.

"There is a district," says he, "comprehending Donegal, the interior of the county of Derry, and the western side of Tyrone, which is emphatically called by the people, "the black north," an expression not meant, as I conceive, to mark its greater exposure to the westerly winds, but rather its dreary aspect. The higher classes, having no establishments here, are represented by agents, whose character is strongly marked by fawning obsequiousness to their employers, whose confidence they abuse, and unrelenting severity to the tenants, whom they unceasingly oppress. There are immense tracts in this part of the country, which their owners never deigned to gladden by their presence; and many of the grand juries in these northern counties are composed of the men (agents) I have here described." *

The same writer also remarks, page 735. "The mountain tracts are often let by the *side*, and, according to every appearance, afford but wretched support to a famished and half-naked population. This I in particular remarked, in

* Vol. ii. p. 737.

the course of a tour which I made through the mountains in Donegal. The condition of the people was miserable in the extreme; they were dirty, superstitious, and it was evident they existed on scanty and bad food. Their habitations presented, if possible, a still more disgusting sight. A description of them could not be attempted without offending the ears of those who have never seen any but the cottage of the English peasant. Their habits are such as might be expected among human beings in the lowest state of civilization; and yet, if the accounts given by some travellers of savage life be to be credited, these people live in a state of comparative luxury."

If this was a faithful picture, and there is not a doubt of its truth, when Mr. Wakefield saw it, fourteen years ago, when the farmer could take the produce of his industry to market, and promptly sell for more than double the price he can now get; a time too, when every poor labourer could get constant employment, and more than treble the present wages; what would that close and generally accurate observer think of it, were he to see it *now*, when the farmer cannot dispose of his produce at almost any price, and the peasant cannot procure constant employment at any wages, or even for his food?

26th. Rose at my usual hour, four o'clock, and walked round the city walls, which are furnished with five gates, and are said to be an English mile in circumference. On the south and south-east sides are gardens, and fruit trees covered with fruit, some of which might be gathered by persons from the walls. On the north and north-west sides the town has extended greatly beyond the limits of the old city. On the north-west side, within the walls, are a chapel of ease, a large Dissenting meeting-house, and a Methodist chapel, all apparently well built, and presenting

a very decent appearance. From the wall over the south-west gate the city is seen to great advantage; — on the left, the bishop's palace; on the right, the new court-house, which is the most elegant and commodious place of the kind I have seen. In its rear is the cathedral, a venerable pile of gothic architecture falling to decay: it was built by the Irish Society, in 1633.

There is a wooden bridge of excellent construction, one thousand and eighty feet in length, with a draw-arch on the town side: it was framed in America, and built by a Mr. Cox, a native of that country. A large metal pipe extends from a hill on the opposite side of Lough Foyle along this bridge, and supplies the town with good water. Passing over this bridge I had another good view of the town; it was just five o'clock; the sun had fairly mounted above the horizon, and the morning was delightfully fine. The town, rising somewhat abruptly in the foreground, exhibited a neat and handsome appearance, whilst higher hills behind finished the outline irregularly on that side: the extensive sheet of Lough Foyle was perfectly unruffled; there were some vessels in the harbour, and some small craft in the offing, peacefully resting on the glassy surface of the water, and defying every effort of the sailors to give them motion; it was a perfect calm, — the sails hung idle, and not a sound was heard, save the light hum of bustle in the town.

Nearly in the centre of the town is a small square, called the "Diamond," where the market is held; a plain brick building stands in the middle, which serves as an Exchange; it was built about two hundred years ago. At an early hour the market is well supplied with potatoes, butter, and butter-milk, the quantity of the latter appeared enormous. The entrance to the harbour is narrow, but it is neither

difficult nor unsafe. The little trade of this place is chiefly with America, whence it imports flax-seed, barilla, hemp, tallow, &c.; its chief export appears to be emigrants and money. I was not able to learn any thing like the annual amount of emigration; some persons of whom I inquired estimated it at three, others at four thousand, and some at five thousand: be the number what it may, it is quite certain that not one in a hundred is of the Catholic persuasion. These are, as it were, wedded to the soil, which they never voluntarily desert. Mr. Wakefield in his excellent work on Ireland, gives the following forcible picture of this degraded class of the community.

Speaking of Down, he says, "No country affords a more striking proof of the superiority which education and wealth have over numbers. Were an enumeration made, the Roman Catholic population would, I believe, preponderate; yet these people are depressed beyond all conception, and what may appear astonishing, they bear their degradation without murmuring or complaint. Familiarized with misery, they have acquired an habitual apathy, and have become indifferent to those objects, in which the inhabitants of a free country are always interested: they *seem* neither to know or to feel the extent of their misery. Insensible to, and seemingly careless of, the great events that are passing in the world, they are never heard to express an opinion on any political subject. *Their whole ambition is centred in an unnoticed and unknown existence.* They do not weave, but are remarkably expert at knitting; and it is observed that they are less industrious than the people in other parts of the country. The debasement and self extinction into which they have fallen pervades their whole habits, and has become more strongly marked

in their demeanour and appearance *since the general arming of the Protestants in* 1798."*

Close to the city is a large building called the college, and the county infirmary, the latter of which is, I believe, well conducted. After breakfast I waited on the local inspector of the prison, who was polite enough to accompany me immediately to that place, which is situated on the west side, a little way outside of the city. The old prison is an exceedingly bad one, but I refrain from giving a description of it, as a new one has been erected, which it is hoped will be fit for the reception of prisoners in a few months. This extensive prison is well situated, and is constructed on a good plan. What is called *jobbing* too generally attends the execution of public works in Ireland. It is not meant to say that such influence has been exercised in this one; but I could mention several, in the cooking up of which this favourite spice has been unsparingly used. I know one, not a hundred miles from the spot on which I stand, on which upwards of thirty thousand pounds have been already expended—*by the county*, and it is not yet finished; when it is, the expence most probably will be nearer forty than thirty. I am far from intending to censure the parties who contracted to execute this work; I know them neither by character nor name. Every man has, I conceive, a right to make as good a bargain for himself as he can; but men who thrust themselves forward to cater for the public, should not be entirely destitute of the faculty of blushing;—"where there is shame there may be virtue." I have been assured by competent authority, that the undertaking alluded to might have been built and completely finished for *sixteen thousand pounds*.

* Vol. 2. p. 736.

There are two schools in the old gaol, but neither of them appears to be well attended. The local inspector has laudably exerted himself to supply some of the prisoners with materials for working at sedentary trades, but with little success: it is hoped that in the new prison he will have a better field for the exercise of his humanity. The diet rule here is, twenty-eight pounds of potatoes, ten pounds of oatmeal, seven quarts of buttermilk, and half a pint of salt per week.

At noon rode about fourteen miles through the county towards Colerain, by the old road leading through the village of Muff, parish of Faughanvale, and Ballykelly, and was greatly pleased with the scenery; the crops promised to be most abundant. A considerable portion of this country belongs to the Grocers' company. I returned to Londonderry * in the evening, and reckoned that I had been accosted by thirty-five beggars during my ride. I had this evening an opportunity of hearing something of the character and circumstances of the Rev. Mr. Graham of Lifford, of whom mention has been made above.

It gave me sincere gratification to find the high opinion I had so soon formed of the character of this worthy man confirmed by the testimony of others who had long known him. He is no less exemplary for benevolence and piety, than distinguished for learning and talents of the first order. He was ordained in 1799, by Doctor Young, bishop of Clonfert. Through the medium of Dr. Knox, then bishop of Killaloe, and now of Derry, he obtained a curacy at Kilrush, and did duty in five united parishes, an extent of twenty-five miles. In 1809, he was removed to

* The county of Londonderry stands *fifteenth* on the scale of extent: it contains 837 square miles, 241$\frac{1}{9}$ persons to each mile; total population being 202,155, of whom 121,281 belong to the Catholic persuasion.

the diocese of Derry, where, on the emoluments of a curacy and the pittance allowed him as local inspector of the gaol, he is struggling to support a wife, and to educate his family, consisting of no less than eight children. He has not been backward in employing his powerful abilities, as well in defence of the church, as in support of the tory administration. His services have been felt and acknowledged, but remain to be rewarded; for, after a lapse of twenty-three years, he still remains a curate.

27th. Anticipated my usual hour of rising, and walked round the city walls before four o'clock. At five took a ride towards Fawn, and observed parts of the country better cultivated, and producing finer crops than I had seen for some time. Returned to breakfast at ten; set off soon after noon, and at four arrived in Strabane, whence I walked over to Lifford, and called on the Rev. Mr. Graham with whom I passed a most agreeable evening. During my stay, a convalescent lunatic came in, and made his report, that "he had worked eleven hours that day." On leaving this excellent individual, I could not help saying to myself, how unavailing is worth without interest, and with it—how unnecessary!

28th. Left Strabane at half-past four this morning, breakfasted in Omagh at ten, and arrived in Aughnacloy at three in the afternoon. Between Strabane and Omagh I met thirteen beggars, and thence to Aughnacloy twenty-one others.

Although tithe does not appear to have formed any part of the observations contained in the preceding journal, its omission does not arise from any inattention to the subject. Fully sensible of its importance, I have endeavoured to collect the sentiments of the people in every place I visited: family connections, and private friends in many

parts of the country, have facilitated my inquiries, and promoted their object.

That tithe is a source of great discontent even in Ulster, admits of no doubt whatever; and that every class of persons, of every religious persuasion, *would sacrifice much* to be relieved from its weight, is equally certain. It is, however, probable that it might be levied without any very serious opposition, so long as the farmers are able to pay it out of those means which arise from other branches of industry besides that of agriculture. Candour owes it to the character of the clergy in this province to state, that their tithes are valued at a rate comparatively moderate, and that some remarkable instances of lenity have occurred highly creditable to the parties who had to make the claim. That it is a grievance, and operates with galling effects upon the people, is manifest from the resentment shown on many occasions: in the parish of Aghaloe, for instance, where I am now writing, the Hon. and Rev. Archdeacon Knox demanded a small increase of tithe, which was resisted by the parishioners with great obstinacy. The case was litigated, and decided in favour of the Hon. Archdeacon, but his claims were, nevertheless, rejected. Tithe-proctors were employed, one of whom is said to have spoken very unguardedly of the compulsory measures he intended to pursue; when he went to carry his threats into effect, he was assailed by a number of men, dressed in women's clothes, who beat him to death, and almost killed another tithe-proctor who acted as his assistant. Among the many who oppose this demand, are Protestants of opulence and respectability, determined to resist it as long as possible.

29th. Started at five, proceeded into the county of Armagh, and spent the remainder of that day in Blackwater Town. During the last three or four days, I found

the atmosphere tainted with exhalations from decomposed vegetable matter, occasioned by steeping flax in stagnant water, until the inner or woody portion undergoes a putrefactive process, of which the fibrous part is less susceptible; a practice common in every part of Ulster. With respect to the influence of these exhalations in producing disease, various opinions have been advanced, and confidently maintained.

Theoretical reasoning, and analogical induction, would certainly pronounce judgment on their pernicious tendency, while experience would as certainly declare them harmless. Having spent the early part of my life in Ulster, where the cultivation of flax and the manufacture of linen form the staple article of trade, I had innumerable opportunities of noticing the effects produced by these offensive effluvia. I have seen men, women, and boys, up to their knees in ditches filled with flax, the smell of which was intolerable to persons unaccustomed to it: day after day, and year after year, have I known the same persons thus employed; yet I never saw or heard of an instance where fever could be fairly traced to this cause.

Catarrhal and pulmonary affections have often arisen from this, as they would, most probably, from an equal extent of exposure in any other way. Water in which flax has been steeped is certainly fatal to fish, and its smell is peculiarly disagreeable; but in answer to the question, Does it, or does it not induce disease? I should say from considerable experience, it decidedly does not.

30th.— Set out early, and arrived in Monaghan by nine o'clock. At eleven started again and proceeded to Clones, a small town in the county of Cavan. This county abounds with hills, some of them so large as properly to admit of the term, "mountain," (in the Irish language

accurately distinguished by the word, *slieve*,) which, however, is generally applied to every spot that produces heath. Except in the neighbourhood of gentlemen's seats, this country is almost bare of wood, which gives it a dreary and sterile appearance greatly beyond what a closer inspection will prove to be the fact.

From Clones I proceeded by the end of Lough Erne to Belturbet*, without observing much variety in the country. The peasantry often present as wretched an appearance as I noticed among the inhabitants of the black north; pits for dunghills in front of the cabins, close to the doors, are seen every where. The females exhibit a more slovenly appearance than I have yet seen; it is often difficult to distinguish the sex by the dress, for women are seen in every field at work, with a man's patchwork coat tied round the middle with a thick straw or hay rope, and a hat very often without a crown, furnished with a band of the same materials. I saw no children to day absolutely naked, but the *living* rags that many have hanging round them, are, in my mind, a thousand times worse than nakedness. Between Clones and Belturbet three young wretches were employed in a way more exquisitely disgusting than I ever noticed among the savages of any country. They were sitting at a door, picking a garment of some sort, but decency forbids to mention how they disposed of the legions they were destroying.

The crops everywhere look fine; the people engaged pulling flax and making hay with a jocundity of manner that but ill accords with their miserable appearance; these

* With reference to geographical dimension, the county of Cavan ranks *eighteenth* upon the scale: it contains 758 square miles, with 300 persons to the square mile: total population, therefore, equals 227,400, and of this number 189,500 are of the Catholic religion.

are the only employments at present to be seen, except here and there a woman carrying a kreel of turf on her back, with a stocking in her hands, which she knits as she goes along.

31st. Had my horse fed, and was on the road by four o'clock this morning; the weather very fine and the country improved since I saw it before; neat country seats, and picturesque glens occasionally enlivening the prospect. Arrived at Newgrove before nine, distant from Belturbet eighteen miles, from which place I departed at noon, and arrived at three in Castleblaney. The demesne and grounds around Lord Blaney's mansion are laid out with great taste. The poor in the neighbourhood spoke favourably of his lordship as a landlord; and many of his tenants appear in every respect greatly superior to those of any gentleman I had noticed in that part of the country. There is an excellent inn here, and the prices more moderate than are charged for very inferior accommodation in other places of the kind.

1st August. Departed at four, and proceeded through Keady and Middleton to Armagh, whence I returned to Blackwater town: in the evening rode over to Charlemont, and thence through the village of Moy, to the house of a relative in the neighbourhood. Here I found some of his friends waiting my arrival, who, as they understood I was about to return to Dublin, said it would be in my power to render them and many others a very important service, if I would take the trouble to undertake it. Being assured of my willingness to do so, provided no improper motive urged their request, they informed me by one of their number who acted as spokesman: "You know, Sir, that a certain nobleman is a large landed proprietor in this country; we are his tenants, but we know little of his

lordship, and therefore cannot complain of *him*; he seldom comes among us, and when he does, his stay is so short, and he is then so constantly attended by his agent, that poor men who may think themselves aggrieved cannot get near his lordship to state their complaints. The whole estate has long groaned under oppression most cruelly exercised by a villain of a bailiff, who can do what he likes with the agent. You know, Sir, that turf is our only firing in this country, and this bailiff has the entire distribution of the bog, which is given in lots according to every man's holding; but we are obliged to bribe him every year for giving us what is justly our right: a sum of four or five guineas given by each tenant this year, will not ensure the possession of our bog for the next.

"If a lease drops," continued he, "it can never be renewed without paying this man a large fine. I know at this moment a lease that has been dropped on the estate nine years; the thing is kept a secret, — the old low rent continues to be paid, and, as the circumstance is well known to the bailiff, he is not likely to keep his mouth shut for nothing. Complaints have often been made to the agent against this man's extortions, but in no one case has satisfaction been obtained. We have been called rebels, and threatened to be committed, if we refused to submit to the '*laws*.' When the landlord was down, some years ago, many of the tenants tried to see him, but the door was so carefully guarded by constables, that no one ever got in. Some wrote letters, which those constables promised to deliver, but nothing more was heard of them. A few have even walked beyond Dublin, to lay their grievances before his lordship, who always referred them to his agent, — one of the very two they went to complain of. In this way the tenantry are robbed every year; the landlord is robbed

too, and we have no remedy. Now, sir, as you are going to Dublin, if you would take an opportunity to see his lordship, and lay our case before him, there can be no doubt that he would inquire into it. Our land is too dear as it is, and some of us will not much longer be able to pay either the rent or the bailiff's bribes."

I had heard of the insolent exactions of this bailiff from a hundred mouths, but could find no one courageous enough to come forward to prove the facts. I told the party that if they would furnish some affidavits to that effect, I would apprize his lordship of the matter, but could not otherwise interfere; yet such was the prevailing dread of incurring the agent's wrath, who they had too much reason to believe, was invested with unlimited control, that they shrunk from the danger. They all declared that they had bribed the bailiff, by the hands of his wife, several times at his direct bidding, but he had too much caution and experience to receive it himself. They declared their conviction that if they offended the bailiff, it was the same as if they had sinned against the agent.

Several leases had dropped a few years before, and were not renewed, on which account they felt particularly alarmed, as they were, every instant, at the mercy of their enemies. They say, one and all, "My lease is out, and if I say a word, Mr. ——, (the agent,) will destroy me; I will be turned out, and my family may starve." — "But," added they, "if Lord —— will come down, and promise not to let us be hurt, we will tell him the whole truth: before the agent we are afraid to say any thing."

Should his lordship ever condescend to open this volume, it is sincerely hoped that this page may catch his eye, and engage his attention. He has the name of being a humane and a religious man. In the name, then, of humanity and

religion I humbly, yet earnestly, call on his lordship to hear the cries of his oppressed tenants. Their complaints may be groundless, in which case it is unjust not to clear the character of the agent and bailiff of such false aspersions; but be the case as it may, investigation cannot fail of doing good. The landlord's smile, like the sunshine from Heaven, will dissipate many a heavy cloud, and cheer up many a drooping heart. To have been a stranger to their condition so long may be considered a *misfortune*; but if ignorance be wilfully persisted in, the most lenient will be compelled to consider it criminal, if not disgraceful. However novel or innovative it may sound in Ireland, I confidently maintain that tenants have an undoubted right to claim protection from their landlords: their title to this is as good, and as consonant to the divine principles of justice, as that by which he claims and receives his rents.

2d. Visited Dungannon, and proceeded thence to Tullyhog, a village eight miles north of the former place, and thence to Stewartstown, four miles from the latter. This part of the country is very thickly inhabited, and more generally cultivated than most of the other parts of Tyrone. Flax is raised in considerable quantity, and every little farmer is also a manufacturer of linen. To the little profit arising from this branch of industry, and the price of a pig, which had probably been his bedfellow and messmate from its infancy, and which he usually sells at Christmas, he trusts entirely for the amount of his rent and tithe.

In the evening I rode to Moneymore, seven miles further: the country thereabouts assumes a much more barren aspect, and becomes "mountainous." On the 3d I set out early, and rode to Magherafelt, a distance of five miles, and passed thence, as there was no one stirring, to Ballynascreen, nine miles further. The people in this district are

badly clothed, and live very wretchedly; and yet, amidst all the distress they endure, the females reserve wherewith, out of their humble industry, to dress in tawdry cottons on market-days and Sundays; on which occasions, if they have any distance to walk to a neighbouring town, they decorate themselves in the whole of their flimsy finery, but carry their shoes and stockings in their hand, or tied up in a cloth, until they approach the place. At the first convenient stream, or green spot, they put on their stockings and shoes, and adjust their head-dress over the stream, or by a little pocket-glass, and with brilliant eye and joyous step trip along with their companions. On week days, however, the picture is odiously reversed, as all the females, both old and young, exhibit an almost total disregard of neatness in dress, for which their poverty alone can serve as an apology. Illicit distillation is much practised here, and carries its peculiarly deteriorating effects into every retreat of social life, as is painfully visible in the low state of morals.

4th. Set out on my return this morning at four, and reached Magherafelt by eight o'clock, very little gratified, having witnessed nought scarcely but uniform misery and penury all the way. At five I met three men and a boy, all quite tipsy; only one of them had a coat, and none of them had either stockings or shoes: a little farther on there were two ragged boys quarrelling, who also appeared to be intoxicated. It is usual, I am informed, for the persons engaged in making illicit whiskey, to stop the passengers, such as are of their own class, and treat them with a part of their maddening store, in order to secure them in their interest, and not betray them to the excise; hence the scenes just described are not infrequent. Returned to Blackwater-town, having this day travelled forty miles.

6th. Having now seen the greater part of Ulster, I went to Armagh, and spent part of the day with my friend Dr. Johnson. We rode through the demesne, and a considerable part of the estate of Sir Capel Molyneux, both of which are in excellent order. The peasantry on this estate are comfortable, and shew all the characters of independence; the ground appears rich and well-cultivated; and contrasting the present with what I had recently seen about Magherafelt, I could not avoid expressing a wish that every portion of the kingdom had to boast of the advantages enjoyed upon this favoured and thriving property.

CHAPTER II.

NOTES OF TOUR CONTINUED.

THERE is no part of the province of Ulster that does not present many objects so deserving of notice, that it would be difficult for the most superficial observer to traverse much of it, without having his attention strongly attracted, and a lively interest excited by the various condition of the population. In one district the benevolent mind will find delight in contemplating an intelligent, industrious, and independent peasantry; and in another, at the distance of only a few miles, the heart will dissolve in pity for the extreme degradation and abject wretchedness of the same class of persons, inhabiting the same soil, and surrounded by the same physical advantages. Curiosity, if not a better principle, will urge him a little further, to explore the limits of such seemingly unaccountable evils, and, if possible, to discover their origin. Feelings of this nature protracted my excursions in the north much beyond the time I had at first intended. The acquisition of certain facts led irresistibly to the investigation of other matters, with which they were necessarily interwoven; and as I proceeded, so important, so deeply interesting, so imperative of solemn consideration did the state of this great province appear, that I take my leave of it, for the present, with heart-felt concern, and a reluctance raised by anticipations which time alone can cancel.

7th August. Left Armagh in the Dublin coach, and

stopped at Dundalk, for the purpose of visiting the gaol, and looking over the town and neighbourhood. After breakfast I waited on Mr. Biggar, a magistrate, to ask permission to see the prison: he was not at home, but his son very obligingly came with me. The gaol of the county of Louth is a square building of small size, consisting of two stories; it is not the most commodiously constructed, but it is decidedly the best regulated prison I have yet seen in the kingdom, except the Belfast penitentiary.

A considerable addition was made to it in March 1820, and it is in contemplation to enlarge it still more. The old prison is appropriated to debtors. In the new one, felons are kept on the ground floor, and persons for petty offences above: there will soon be accommodation for four classes of male prisoners. There are at present four day-rooms, as many work-rooms, and seven yards, besides a garden, which is both useful and ornamental. Adjoining the prison is the court-house, into which prisoners for trial are directly marched, without taking them outside the gaol, or requiring military assistance. There are schools in which each class of prisoners is instructed for two hours in succession. To these, as to every other duty, great attention appears to have been paid, and the result is most gratifying.

The females are employed in spinning, sewing, knitting, and picking oakum; but great difficulty is experienced in getting sale for the articles they manufacture. There are two committees; that of the ladies attends three times a week. Three clergymen are said to be very regular in their attendance. I had the pleasure of meeting the Catholic one, the Rev. Mr. Duffy, in the prison; his conversation evinced much liberality and sound judgment. I asked him whether he had any objection to the prisoners

of his persuasion reading the Scriptures; to which he replied, with great frankness, "Not the least; I not only wish the Bible to be in their hands, but I sincerely wish its principles to be in their heads and hearts."

The total number of prisoners is forty-six; there are at present in the prison, convicts who were sentenced eighteen months ago: this practice, so general in Ireland, cannot be too severely censured. The yard for untried minor offences is considered unsafe. The keeper's apartments open into the yards, which greatly facilitates inspection. The keeper is Mr. John Crowe, whose intelligence and unremitting attention to the duties of his office are highly meritorious. The condition of the prison does him great credit; it could not be kept in better order. The dietary scale is, one pound of oatmeal made into stirabout, and half a pint of new milk for breakfast; four pounds of potatoes, and a pint of buttermilk for dinner; three pounds of potatoes, and a pint of buttermilk for supper. Breakfast at nine, dinner at two, and supper at seven o'clock.

Soon after returning to the inn, I received a visit from a young gentleman, whose father invited me to dinner, which I accepted, and meantime proceeded to take a view of the town. Dundalk is an ancient irregularly built place, but the additions within the last twenty years have contributed greatly to its improvement and salubrity; its situation is low and marshy, being built at the head of a large shallow bay, skirted on the north by the Carlingford mountains, along the foot of which is a well-cultivated tract, called Cooley, numerously peopled by a hardy race of men, who engage alternately in farming and fishing. The export trade of this port, which is inconsiderable, consists of cattle, hides, beef, butter, linen, and corn. Dundalk is a close borough under the patronage of the

earl of Roden, whose influence, combined with that of the Right Honourable John Foster, commands the return of members for the county of Louth.*

After dinner, Mr. D., knowing my wish to see as much of the country as possible, proposed a drive, to which I gladly acceded. We visited the Blackrock, a watering place of some note: it is distinguished just now by the presence of Lady Blaney and her elegant daughter. From this place we continued our drive through the estate of Lord Clermont. Great part of this land is good, and it is let for its utmost value: the tenants, however, are said to be less distressed on account of arrears, than are those paying inferior rents on other estates, as the moment it is ascertained that their payments are defective, from inability to make up the wonted demand, they are released from all annoyance as to further claims by immediate removal.

8th. Having last night taken a place to Drogheda in a coach that starts from Dundalk every morning at four, I rose early to-day, and at the usual hour the coach set off. The first stage to Castlebellingham we got on very well, but the horses we took from that place could not be kept on the road; several times the coach was very near being overturned; the driver flogged the poor animals most unmercifully; one of them fell down in the street of Dunleer, and in a few minutes expired. The crops along the road to Drogheda appear fine and abundant, but approaching to this place they appear not so heavy as to the northward. The peasantry of the county of Louth are uncommonly strong, robust, and healthy, and rather more respectable

* Louth is the smallest county in Ireland, containing only 329 square miles, with 339¼ souls to the square mile: it has a total population, therefore, of 111,615, of whom 106,298 are Catholics.

in their general appearance than many others I have seen; their clothing is of domestic manufacture chiefly.

After breakfast I waited on Mr. Smith, a magistrate, to ask permission to see the prison; this gentleman regretted that indisposition prevented him from accompanying me, but he sent a person with directions to the keeper to admit me. This gaol, like that at Dundalk, is small, but in most other respects is greatly inferior. It is of a square form, surrounded by two walls; there are four yards for felons and misdemeanants, and one for debtors. This prison, though comparatively new, is constructed by no means on an eligible plan, as it affords very imperfect classification, and is wholly deficient in inspection and employment. The tried and untried are generally kept together.

When there are no female prisoners, as is the case just now, the males are put into the female side, and then are pretty well classed. There are only ten dormitories, and two solitary cells. The debtors have only two apartments or cells; and prisoners confined for petty offences have to be marched nearly one-third of the whole circumference of the prison from their cells to the day-room, and the same inconvenience takes place in returning them to their cells at night. The infirmary consists of a single ward, in which both males and females must be treated together, should they happen to be sick at the same time, of which, it may at least be supposed, there is a probability: such a case, however, has not occurred since the prison was opened. Mr. M'Kenna, the keeper, who appears a very intelligent man, says no punishment is half so efficient as solitary confinement.

From the 19th of June to the end of September, each prisoner is allowed two pounds and half of good brown wheaten bread, a quart of butter-milk, and half a pint of

new milk per day: the winter dietary consists of six pounds of potatoes, one pound of oatmeal, and three pints of butter-milk a day. Formerly three shillings' worth of bread a-week was the allowance.

The county of the town of Drogheda * comprehends little more than an area of three thousand acres. The town of Drogheda is built principally on the north bank of the river Boyne, about seven miles from its mouth, which is defended by a bar; it is, however, navigable for vessels of considerable burden, and has a good share of trade. Its exports are similar to those of Dundalk, but its corn trade is more extensive: the main article of export is a strong kind of sheeting, known better by the name of "Drogheda linens," which are manufactured in the town and neighbourhood; this commodity is in great demand, and is entitled to a bounty, under the supervision of the linen board. Timber and deals from Norway, and coal from the opposite coast of England constitute its principal imports; the latter is transmitted into the interior by means of a canal. The town contains many remains of antiquity, which might be reasonably expected from the important part it occupied in the history of the country: part of the palace of King John is still standing, as are also some portions of the parliament house in which Poyning's laws had been enacted.

I noticed here several small hand-carts, on which is painted the word "mendicity;" these are drawn through the town, and stop a short time at every door to receive broken victuals for the poor. One of these I observed in its progress through the longest street in the town, (West-

* The population of Drogheda is considered to be 24,500, of whom 20,417 are of the class of Catholics.

street) but saw no contribution offered. At three in the afternoon, continued my journey to Dublin.

9th. Having engaged a jaunting-car, last night, to Kildare, I was on the road a few minutes after four this morning, and was fortunate in getting an excellent horse. Arrived at Naas at half past nine. A conveyance offering to Maryborough just as I had done breakfast, I took advantage of it, and proceeded thither. The general character of the country through which I have travelled to-day, being part of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Queen's, is that of being exceedingly level. The county of Kildare* exhibits specimens of good and bad farming in the extreme. There are many large fields of excellent wheat, and not a few smaller ones not worth reaping. The peasantry are badly clothed, and live most wretchedly.

The cabins exhibit a variety of construction different from those to the northward, being built, the lower half, or better, of the walls, with stone and clay mortar, and the upper part with clay or sods, and coated with a thick covering of straw thatch: a want of cleanliness is remarkable about all of them, even those inhabited by the wealthier class of farmers. A large square in front of each farm-house, called the bawn, is usually a common receptacle for all sorts of manure collected from the dwelling-house and cattle-sheds, and this stock is increased by feeding every description of domestic animals within this square with a most wasteful profusion, apparently systematic.

I attempted to count the number of beggars I met to-day, as I had sometimes done in Ulster, but found it im-

* The county of Kildare, in proportion to its relative extent, stands the twenty-third upon the scale. It contains 619 square miles, which at 201¼ persons to the mile, give the total population 124,574, the Catholics being 120,555.

possible, they were so excessively frequent. Near Naas I met two miserable looking women, accompanied by seventeen children. Queen's county * abounds in bog, some of which lies low, and appears marshy for want of a way to discharge the rain-water. The crops of corn and potatoes look exceedingly well; the peasantry appear badly supplied with the necessaries of life, and every place swarms with beggars, who solicit charity in a manner different from those of the north, where a woful countenance is always presented, and some dire misfortune usually related; but here the application is often made with a smile, and followed by a facetious story, or mirth-moving display of spontaneous wit.

To an elderly man who accosted me in this strain, I remarked, "You must have a light heart, notwithstanding your distress;" to which he replied, "Yes, Sir, I *have* a light heart and a thin pair of breeches, and the world for a *praty* garden," at the same time slapping his hand against his thigh, which flung aside the skirt of his threadbare mantle, and exposed that portion of his brawny person literally naked. This man happened to have a biscuit which I had given him still in his hand; looking wistfully at me, he asked another; "It is for a sick man," said he, "who wants it more than I do." Not having the means of complying with his request, "Then," said he, chuckling with a sense of internal pleasure, "Phil Corrigan must get this, for I got my supper last night, and he got neither dinner nor supper." Saying this, he went over to the road side, where a very miserable man

* Queen's county stands twenty-fifth in regard to proportionate area, being 602 square miles in extent, and having 253 to the square mile: total population 152,506, of whom 139,614 are Catholics.

was sitting, and seating himself down by him, forced him to eat it, at the same time cheering the poor creature's spirits with some lively remarks upon the ragged group around them.

10th. Engaged a horse last evening to proceed to Philipstown, the servant promised to be ready at four, but it was past five when he made his appearance. The morning was gloomy, and rain was strongly indicated by the cloudy shrouding on Sleibh-bloom, a chain of mountains, which extend about fifteen miles between Queen's and King's counties; the servant seemed anxious to delay the journey, but I was determined to proceed, and departed. Passed through Morett, and arrived at Portarlington by ten, a distance of eighteen miles. This little town is situated on the banks of the Barrow, which commences at the foot of Sleibh-bloom, and winds its course through the neighbourhood of Mountmelick, Port-arlington, Leacastle, Monastereven, Athy, Carlow, Leighlinbridge, and Ross, where it is joined by the Nore, and a few miles lower down by the Suir, terminating at Waterford haven, whence these joint streams pass into the sea. The number of houses in this town is calculated at 375, the population at 2,350. The number of beggars is astonishing. Got another horse, and proceeded to Clonegowan, seven miles; thence to Philipstown *, eleven miles, where I arrived at three in the afternoon.

The country through which I travelled to day is better watered than any I ever saw, the island of Mauritius per-

* In relative proportion King's county ranks twenty-second on the geographical list: its extent is 661 square miles, each containing 236½ souls: the population is consequently 156,326; of these 140,695 are Catholics.

haps excepted. It appears as if nature had portioned out the land of these counties, and determined the boundaries of each portion by a delightful little stream. Fuel is in great abundance everywhere. The land, which is rich and productive, is let usually from three to six guineas an acre; formerly this rent was easily raised, and willingly paid; of late years it has been found very difficult of collection, and in another year, many think, it will be quite impossible. This state of things is rendered still more depressing by the demand of tithe, which is found to bear with peculiar severity upon this part of the country. The rate of tithe, I have been informed, is as follows; wheat, twelve shillings an acre; same for barley and bear; eight to ten shillings for oats; meadow, six shillings and sixpence; and one guinea and a half for one hundred sheep.

Foliated or slaty lime appears greatly to predominate as the substratum; granite and gneiss are met with, the latter of so compact a texture, that it is often polished, and used for chimney-pieces and other ornamental purposes. There are scarcely any manufactures; solitary individuals have tried to weave both linen and cotton, but soon gave it up. The price of labour is exceedingly low; several of the peasantry were willing to labour for their food through the summer, but could not get employment even on those melancholy terms, consequently they were obliged to beg, or driven to the alternative of committing robberies to save themselves and children from starving. Many of those who led an itinerant life, or had resort to criminal means for support, are at present engaged in the harvest, yet the number of beggars is still immense. Education is at an exceedingly low ebb. I waited on the local inspector to obtain permission to visit the prison, but was not fortunate enough to find him at home, and an en-

gagement in Dublin prevented me from remaining another day for this purpose.

11th. Set out at half-past four, and arrived at Newbury at eight. This being Sunday, the lower classes are dressed in their best clothes; the females appear partial to red ribbons, with which they are decorated in profusion: these ornaments are purchased, one would suppose, at the expence of more comfortable articles of dress; for some girls having their head-dresses thus bedizened, with large bouquets of wild flowers in their bosoms, had not at the same time either stockings or shoes. Beggars here exceedingly numerous and more importunate than usual. At ten continued my journey to Rathcoffey, thence to Leixlip, and arrived in Dublin shortly after nine in the evening.

13th. Rode into the county of Wicklow *, a distance beyond Bray, and returned to town in the afternoon.

15th. Having engaged a place on the Kilkenny coach, yesterday, I left Dublin at six this morning, the day delightfully fine. Breakfasted at Naas, where the coach was surrounded by beggars of the most squalid appearance, many of whom, as already noticed, evinced great humour in their manner of soliciting charity, and as travellers generally dislike sorrowful complaints, their mode of application appeared by far the most successful. We got into Kilkenney about six.

A considerable part of the road over which I travelled to-day lay through the county of Carlow †, in which there

* Wicklow stands sixteenth upon the relative scale of the counties, being 781 square miles in extent, and containing 168 persons on each mile. The total population is, therefore, 131,208, and the number of Catholics is 118,087.

† Carlow is the thirtieth county on the proportional list, containing 346 square miles, and 264½ souls to each square mile: total population 91,517, of whom 82,365 are Catholics.

are many delightful situations, and fine houses occupied only by servants or *care-keepers*. Slaty limestone and clay-slate appear to be the prevailing substrata; the houses and cabins are constructed of them with great facility, as their sharp fracture scarcely needs the use of a hammer to give a face, whilst the flatness of the stone makes the pieces lie so even and close, as not to require cement: the fields are enclosed with "*dry-walls*" built in a similar manner. Near the town of Carlow, there are two quarries, one of granite, and another of black marble: I had not an opportunity of examining either.

Large parties are employed reaping wheat and barley; the crops of which are lighter here than I noticed any where to the northward. Beggars to-day not so numerous as formerly, as the harvest gives temporary employment to a great many men; but women with large families cannot earn sufficient by reaping to relieve their children's cravings; they are therefore compelled to travel the country, trusting to casual charity. From Carlow to Leighlin, the road runs parallel with the river Barrow, which contributes much to the general beauty of the country, and renders the scenery in many places perfectly picturesque.

16th. Spent the whole of this day riding through the country. There is no part of Ireland, nor, perhaps, an equal extent of country in the world, that can afford a livelier interest to the inquirer, than Kilkenny.* The naturalist, the politician, the philanthropist, will each find material for

* In geographical dimension Kilkenny ranks seventeenth on the scale of counties. Its area embraces 773 square miles, each containing 230 souls. The total population of the county is, therefore, 177,790, and of this number 170,952 are considered as belonging to the class of Catholics. Kilkenny city contains a population of 28,847, of which number 26,628 are Catholics.

patient investigation. The attention of the mineralogist will be attracted by indications of lead, copper, and silver; beds of sandstone, containing pyrites and oxyde of iron, and frequently glistening with mica and quartzy pebbles, in abundance. Lime in different forms and variously combined, is every where to be met with: marl and calcareous sand have been dug up, and are thought to exist in large quantity. It is much to be regretted that this excellent manure has not more extensively engaged the attention of the farmer.

Marble is found here of every hue, from the jet black to the lightest grey, fantastically tesselated, and often exhibiting organic remains of antediluvian formation. There are also quarries of granite and sandstone flag; but the most useful article of all remains yet to be mentioned — coal, which has long been advantageously raised here, and of which many parts of the country present very promising indications.

The corn crop is good, and that of potatoes is excellent; still the state of agriculture is susceptible of very great improvement. Draining, manuring, and grassing, are too little attended to: the finest and most fertile valleys are reserved for pasture, and this perversion of the use of nature's bounties follows chiefly from an intention of avoiding tithe; yet the supply of vegetable produce adequate to the vast increase of population is so necessary, notwithstanding this great drawback on the resources of the country, that cultivation is gradually creeping up the hills to meet the wants of the people. Potatoes, wheat, and oats, are the usual order of crops; a second, and sometimes a third crop of oats is taken, after which the ground is neglected for some years. I noticed here and there a patch of flax not much larger than a good-sized table-cloth.

Education has been decidedly making progress during the last ten years, but still a vast majority of the peasantry is grossly ignorant, whilst under these disadvantages many of the children are used to evince talents of the very first order. It is not unusual for members of the same family to devote themselves to all the grovelling toil of husbandry, without being able to shew even a little reading and writing, whilst another more fortunate in education displays an accurate knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics. Instances have been related to me, on most respectable authority, of youths having made considerable progress in mathematics, astronomy, sculpture, painting, and poetical composition, with scarcely any assistance. What a pity that such genius should not have an opportunity of being developed! Had a Newton been born here, the lamp of science might be still unlighted!

17th. Rose early this morning, and took a long ride before breakfast, in a different direction from that which I had taken yesterday. At ten I waited on Mr. Hutchinson, local inspector of the city gaol, who politely accompanied me thither. This prison is built in a narrow street in the middle of the city; the floor six feet below the present level of the street: over it stands the court-house. Only four classes of prisoners can be accommodated here, there being only four wards for their reception; one of these is occupied by male debtors, another by felons, a third by petty offenders, and the fourth by females for every description of crime. Thus it is evident, that classification is deficient, and inspection is still more so.

There are only three yards for the prisoners to get air and exercise in; the females and debtors have access to the same yard, but at different hours. There is a fourth yard, of which no use can be made, on account of the

windows of a brewery opening into it. The inconvenience might be obviated by building a wall a sufficient distance from the brewery, and raising it as high as may be found necessary. This has been often represented to the grand jury, who have always treated the subject with neglect. A board of superintendence was appointed some time ago, in which the Earl of Ormond took a distinguished lead. A principal object of this association was to introduce employment: the noble earl supplied spinning-wheels; Mr. Hutchinson, the inspector, provided flax, and many of the females were engaged in spinning. A respectable woman was engaged at a moderate salary to superintend them, and a schoolmaster was also appointed to instruct the males; but the grand jury refused to present the trifling amount of these two valuable and highly necessary servants' wages; consequently the laudable purpose was dropped, and the spirit it was intended to excite of course subsided with it. The country should surely be flourishing and happy where the public purse is guarded with such frugal care, and the public morals protected with such patriotic zeal!

The devoted attention of the local inspector forms a pleasing contrast to the prevailing apathy; the cleanliness of the prison, bad as it is, and the respectful demeanour of the prisoners, prove how faithfully *his* duty is performed. The dietary is one pint of oatmeal, four pounds and a half of potatoes, and a quart of new milk every day, except Sunday, when two pounds of best bread, and a pint of milk, are allowed.

From this place I proceeded to the cathedral, and was introduced to the Rev. Mr. Phillips, who had just finished reading to an exceedingly small audience; — I saw only one, who appeared to be a mechanic, having an apron

tucked round his waist. The porch of this ancient pile displays a degree of modesty, almost amounting to bashfulness, in the person or persons to whom the management of it has been intrusted. The pious of former times evinced some taste, and took more than ordinary care, in adorning the interior with finely polished marble; but some of the present day have manifested their humility by hiding the whole beneath several coats of whitewash. Portions of this snowy veil have fallen off in several places, and exposed the old vulgar extravagance within, giving an appearance somewhat resembling a large patchwork quilt. It is feared that even these small patches are offensive to certain chaste eyes, and will soon be covered, for there was a bucket of whitewash standing at the gate. The taste here displayed resembles the artist's skill, who represented the Israelites passing through the Red Sea, and the Egyptians going to be drowned — by daubing the wall uniformly red.

Hence I proceeded to the county gaol, about half a mile from the city. It is a fine building of a square form, with sufficient room to admit of tolerable classification; but it is very deficient as to inspection. There are nine yards, of which, two only can be seen by the keeper or assistants from any part of the prison: in these the worst description of prisoners is very properly kept. Experience has abundantly demonstrated the efficacy of solitary confinement; but, as there are no solitary cells, it is impracticable here. Mr. Phillips, the local inspector, appeared sensible of this want, and stated that he had represented it. It is earnestly to be hoped, that the spirit of economy which refused to pay a matron and schoolmaster for the city gaol, will not extend its pernicious and pitiful influence to this.

In each dormitory is a hole not quite six inches square, for

the admission of air and light; but they appear by no means sufficiently large for such a purpose, more particularly as the iron doors fit closely, and the whole prison is surrounded by two high walls, which prevent a thorough circulation of air. Employment has been introduced, but it appears to be going on very languidly; there was only one loom, and that did not seem to have been lately used. A school has been established, from which much good may be expected. The dormitories being placed on the inner side of the corridors, looking into the square, the prisoners of every class are enabled to hold conversation the whole night, if they are so inclined.

It is much to be regretted, that, while this prison was in progress of building, there was no person to offer a little useful advice, by which the last mentioned inconvenience, and some other trifling ones might have been obviated. In long-continued dry weather there is a scarcity of water: the main sewer has not sufficient fall, which occasions the water-closets to be sometimes stopped up; and as these are *inside* the prison, they become offensive; every now and then the main sewer requires to be cleared, and while this operation continues, it is quite a nuisance.

The dietary allowance is nine pounds of potatoes and a quart of new milk a day, for five days; on the intermediate days two pounds of good bread and a quart of milk are issued. This latter is the allowance at present for every day, the potatoes not being considered good. The cost of bread is three-pence half-penny, milk three half-pence a day.

Having examined this place, I visited the house of correction, a large building, capable of containing a great number of persons. The governor's apartments are in the centre, and on each side is a wing, the right for males,

the left for females. Delinquents are committed by the judges at assize time, or by the magistrates on ordinary occasions. Wheels and flax are provided for females to spin; and the males are employed sometimes in pounding hemp, sometimes in pulverizing sandstone, but the greater part of their time is spent in idleness. There is no weaving, nor any provision for education, or instruction of any kind to promote moral improvement.

There are four airing-yards, two solitary cells, two kitchens, three dining-rooms, four working-rooms, and four sleeping-wards filled with cradles, in each of which two or three persons usually sleep: thus thirty or forty persons are every night turned into one room! This injudicious measure alone would be sufficient to invalidate the claim of this institution to the title it bears; but there are others strongly corroborative of the fact, some of which have been mentioned. Having heard that this establishment is quite a hobby with some gentlemen of the grand jury, and many others, I regret, for the sake of humanity, to be obliged to assure them, that it must be remodelled and conducted on a different principle before the morals of any delinquent can be by it reformed or improved. The dietary on a first committal is, nine pounds of potatoes and a penny for milk each day: on a second committal one pound ten ounces of brown bread is the allowance, and water alone for drink: on a third committal, the same allowance as last, and the hair to be cut off.

Adjoining the house of correction is a lunatic asylum capable of containing twenty persons: there are seventeen at present,—nine males and eight females. On the male side there are two corridors, each containing three cells; on the opposite two corridors, containing two cells each. The cells for males are about eight feet square, and each

contains two beds: the cells for females are twelve feet square. There was nothing among the forlorn tenants of this mansion of wretchedness different from what is met in every such place; but in every one there is enough to make the heart sick, and to fill the mind with lowly gratitude for the enjoyment of those inestimable blessings of which we behold them deprived.

This happening to be the great fair-day for the sale of frize and various kinds of coarse woollen manufactures, it furnished a good opportunity of seeing the peasantry. Two of the greatest evils under which the poor of any country can labour are scarcity of food, and want of clothing, and every day throughout this inquiry presents innumerable instances of both. Among those, however, now before me, there is certainly no *want of clothing*, for I observe many of the men wearing two coats, and others three, although the thermometer stands at 79°. It is true, indeed, that there are many others at the same time without any coats, and almost destitute of covering. The entire wardrobe of an ordinary farmer may be seen on his person every day he goes to a fair or market. Some at this moment pass before my eyes wearing two coats, who have neither shoes nor stockings. Conversation appears to be carried on principally in the Irish language, and it is invariably used whenever they have to express emotion or passion. The quantity of wool and woollen manufacture in the fair to-day, is greatly short of what I had been led to expect.

On the subject of tithe every individual to whom I have spoken regards it as an odious and oppressive tax on industry, and that too of the humblest and most indigent class of the community. A farmer near Inch candidly avowed that he had laid down his land for grazing, to avoid

this exaction, and that he would continue to do so, although he believed it would be more profitable to raise corn, for which, he said, his land was much better adapted; another between Kilkenny and Callen made a similar declaration. Had an opportunity of seeing the interior of the Earl of Ormond's magnificent castle. Its noble proprietor does not swell the ranks of the "everlasting absentees."

At five in the evening left Kilkenny with the Waterford coach. Among the passengers was an intelligent gentleman, whose name, I subsequently learned, is Sir John Kean. Arrived in Waterford at ten, and immediately retired to rest.

18th. Took a long ride into the country, in a westerly direction, to the town of Killottery, and thence south-west to Newcastle, distant from Waterford about twelve miles. The ground is low and marshy, and the country but indifferently cultivated, considering its proximity to the city. As I went out there were very few persons out of bed, but as I returned the peasantry were in motion. In front of several cabin doors the men were engaged in shaving one another standing; and near them groups of females were sitting on their hams dressing and examining each other's hair, prior to putting on their Sunday clothes. Such filthy scenes had been familiar to me in *Spain*, but here they were, in some measure, unexpected; and although the circumstance appeared a strong historical feature in the people's character, still it was disgusting to be seen. Noticed many children basking in the sun, and some running about, unincumbered with any clothes whatever.

Returned to the city at ten, and after breakfast went to church, where a good congregation of well dressed people were assembled: the part of the church usually occupied by the military, was crowded to excess; and, after

service, when the soldiers were drawn up outside, their number appeared much greater than I had observed elsewhere.

After church took another ride in a south-east direction along the Suir, to the lands nearly opposite Ballyhack. The country here is very superior to that which I saw in the morning; but it is disfigured with many wretched cabins, each provided with its reservoir for every description of filth,—manure for the potatoe-garden. These baleful nuisances have been lately emptied, for their accustomed use, but such deposits will continue to be made a nucleus for contagious matter, until the concurring efforts of an enlightened legislature, and the sympathizing *presence* of the benevolent gentry, shall bring about a better state of things.

Passing along the Mall in Waterford, about eight in the evening, my attention was attracted by a crowd before a door, and asking the cause of their assembling, I was informed that a sermon was about to be delivered by a Methodist preacher. The door was opened at the instant; a great many respectable looking persons entered, and I walked in also. In a few minutes a young man appeared, and took his station behind a chair, which served as both desk and pulpit. I confess my expectation was not highly raised by his appearance; but I was soon convinced that I had formed a very incorrect estimate of his talents. As he proceeded, his countenance brightened up, and in illustrating some of his arguments, he manifested a knowledge of natural history, mathematics, and astronomy, that I little expected to hear in such a place. The discourse lasted about an hour, and had it continued an hour longer I do not think the patience of one of his auditors would have been too severely taxed.

19th. Rode out this morning to Killottery, and thence a few miles towards Muthel, which lies west from the town. The land hereabouts appears of an indifferent quality, and is as indifferently cultivated; the cottages are worse than those I saw yesterday, and the poor are both ragged and neglectful of personal cleanliness, more especially the females. At eleven A.M. called at the house of the inspector, who was not at home; but his servant directed me to another gentleman who, she said, officiated for him; this person also was from home; I therefore went to the city gaol alone.

An idea of this prison can be conveyed in very few words. In classification and inspection it is wholly deficient, and as to employment nearly so. It has three yards, one for male debtors, one for male criminals, and one for females of all sorts, with a small spot for the infirmary. There are no solitary cells, and all the male prisoners are quite idle, and must remain so while this place is used as a prison; for there is no room to erect workshops: all the ground belonging to it would scarcely form one yard of a proper size. The females have the name of being employed in knitting, spinning, and washing; but the construction and confined limits of the building forbid any thing like regular industry.

The pernicious custom of detaining felons upwards of a year after conviction, obtains here. Some years ago, convicts were detained until a batch of seventeen had collected; these were sent off in August 1818: there are seven of that description here at present. There is no school for any class of prisoners. A clergyman of the Established Church and one of the Catholic persuasion attend. The prison allowance is, one pint of oatmeal and half a pint of new milk for breakfast; three pounds of

potatoes and a pint of sour milk for dinner; three halfpence worth of bread and half a pint of new milk for supper. Of this gaol I shall only further observe, that its incommodious structure involves the violation of the laws every day; that it is insecure, and that no patching or mending can make it answer any purpose of a prison, except that of mere incarceration.

The county gaol is separated from the foregoing only by the sessions-house, and is on a much more extensive scale, yet it is very far indeed from what a prison should be, although it has lately been enlarged, and, I believe, improved. Classification and inspection are defective; there are only two yards in which the prisoners can be seen. It would not be quite correct to say there is no employment, for I saw many of the prisoners gambling, and otherwise very improperly employed. There are seven yards in all, but a part of the prison is not occupied, from an apprehension of the building falling in. Convicts here, as in the city gaol, and every other in the country, are detained a long time after receiving their sentence. I have not met any one who could inform me as to the object of this detention. As there is no school established here for the inculcation of good, these condemned felons will prove expert masters for the diffusion of evil. The dietary here is similar to that of the city gaol. It is intended, I believe, to repair some of the defects of this prison, and to enlarge it still more, which may, indeed, improve it, but can make it neither good nor useful.

Visited the house of industry, which appears to be well conducted, and productive of much benefit; there are two hundred and seven persons in it at present. The Catholic clergyman is allowed to perform divine service for those of his communion on Sundays, and the Protestant inmates

are left to seek religious instruction how and where they please. Some benevolent persons, actuated by a desire of improving the moral condition of these persons, used to attend and read the Scriptures to them; but the practice is said to have excited the displeasure of a dignified individual, who, it might be reasonably supposed, should have felt the strongest interest in promoting it; it has, in consequence of the interposition of authority, been discontinued.

It seems that some of the persons alluded to, after reading the Scriptures, used to expound certain difficult portions of the text, which occasioned the interference just mentioned. In all places where there are persons holding different religious sentiments, it is proper, undoubtedly, to check all unauthorized or officious interpretation of the sacred volume, but the propriety of preventing every one from reading the Gospel to aged persons, of whom, perhaps, none could read for themselves, is not quite so evident. Belonging to this institution, and under the same roof, is a lunatic asylum, in which were thirty-seven pitiable objects.

From this place I walked to the house of correction, nearly a mile out of town. This building is new, and possesses the rare advantage of having a quantity of land, twenty-three acres, I believe, attached, in the cultivation of which the male prisoners must generally have healthy and sufficient employment. The females are employed in spinning wool for the use of the prison; the wool is supplied by the city. There are four yards and forty-one cells. It is exceedingly ungracious, nor less disagreeable, to speak in terms of disapprobation of every thing one sees in a place; but every consideration must yield to truth,

and truth compels me to say, this place is capable of being improved.

In the first place, the infirmary is built on the most incommodious spot that could have been found on the whole premises; it serves as stairs for prisoners to ascend the wall, and effect their escape: four men escaped on the 21st of July, and were retaken after committing a robbery on a priest of the name of Mony. The infirmary smokes so as to render it impossible to keep a fire lighted in it: there is sufficient room for it to stand in the garden, where these inconveniencies would be obviated, and the patients might enjoy the additional advantage of purer air than they have at present.

There ought to be looms, or some provision for industry within the prison; for when bad weather, or any other cause, prevents the prisoners from working in the fields, they must necessarily be idle, and that should never be permitted. Some mode of education appears indispensably necessary. A little attention to these particulars, however trifling they appear, would greatly promote the usefulness of this institution. Hence I proceeded to the fever hospital,—a commodious structure, well situated, and conducted in a manner as certain to promote the cause of benevolence, as to redound to the credit of its judicious directors.

Spent the remainder of the afternoon in looking at the town, and examining the habitations of the poor; I entered not less than sixty-three cabins, in not one of which, and they were not selected on account of their exterior attractions, was there any thing indicative of comfort. The floors of some of them are seven or eight inches below the level of the street; the fires were nearly extinguished in a great many, and ventilation is remarkably defective in all. Parts of the roof have rotted in some places, and fallen in, and

by this miserable means air is admitted to a few, but which, it would seem, the occupiers are anxious to exclude. Very few indeed are provided with any thing that can properly be called furniture. No one surely can wonder that this city should never be entirely free from typhus. The clothing of the poor is, if possible, worse than their dwellings; but I am inclined to think they are better fed than those in many other districts. In the slaughtering season offal is plentiful, and from its cheapness comes occasionally within the reach of the poor.

The city of Waterford * is advantageously situated for foreign trade, being built on the north side of the Suir, which is here expanded into a magnificent stream, about fifteen miles from the sea. A well-built quay, upwards of a mile in length, with a sufficient depth of water to admit ships of large burden, is a great convenience for the merchants. The principal exports are beef, pork, and butter; in the quantity of the latter it exceeds any port in the kingdom. A fine wooden bridge, provided with a draw-bridge, extends across the Suir, and may be said to unite the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny. An inscription in the centre proudly records that this noble edifice was built by Emanuel Cox, "*a native of America.*" Every lover of Ireland must surely regret that the cultivation of native genius, in every part of the country so exuberant, should be neglected to that degree as to render it necessary to fetch an engineer or architect from America, to construct a thing so simple as a wooden bridge. — On the

* The twentieth county in geographical extent is Waterford. It contains 710 square miles, and has 218¾ persons to the square mile; consequently the county population is 155,135, of whom 153,220 are computed to be Catholics. The city of Waterford contains a population of 33,416, of whom 30,632 are Catholics.

subject of tithe I have endeavoured to gain information from every one with whom I had an opportunity of conversing, and the answers obtained invariably manifested a stronger repugnance to the payment of this demand than was observable in any other part of the country.

20th. Left Waterford this morning with the Limerick mail, and proceeded to Clonmel, where I arrived in time for breakfast. The road leads along the north bank of the Suir, which is well wooded and surrounded by beautiful scenery, nearly the whole way. The morning was serene, the road good, the country rich and well cultivated, and the harvest most abundant: such a combination of circumstances was well calculated to give life to agreeable feelings; but all such were often repressed by seeing vast numbers of fellow-creatures, more than half naked, who, in many places crowded the road, and consisted almost exclusively of women and children; the proportion of the latter appeared enormous. It is customary in towns, particularly on market days, I know, for beggars to borrow, and even to hire children, that the appearance of a large family may the more strongly excite commiseration; but it is scarcely to be supposed that distressed females would encumber themselves with the children of others in travelling through the country. It would not pay them for the trouble. Some of the most miserable objects I ever beheld came around the coach in the town of Carrick-on-Suir; one unhappy woman had a child in her arms, which, she said, had died of want. The child was certainly dead, but whether its death had been occasioned by famine I could not ascertain. It may here be observed, that the cabins in the neighbourhood of Carrick, as well as the peasantry themselves, present the darkest shades for a frightful picture of human misery.

After breakfast I waited on Mr. Robert Grubb, whom

I found on the road, superintending some improvements which had been commenced for the purpose of giving employment to the poor starving peasantry. It is difficult to say what part of the character of this gentleman is most estimable. Regardless of all petty distinctions of sect or party, the bugbears only of little minds, his whole time is devoted to lessen the sorrows of the afflicted; and for the attainment of this praiseworthy end, his well cultivated mind and unwearied zeal peculiarly qualify him. In company with this gentleman I visited most of the public buildings in the town.

The county of Tipperary gaol is an extensive building; a moderate share of attention would make it a good prison, a quality to which, I regret to say, it has at present but little of a just claim. There is no employment of any sort, nor have the prisoners an opportunity of learning aught but vice. On Sundays divine service is performed in a room much too small to admit all the prisoners, though there is a chapel in the centre of the prison, in which every class may be accommodated, without being exposed even to each other's view; yet it has never been used. To a question on this subject, the answer returned was, "It would be dangerous to assemble all the prisoners together for that purpose." I confess I do not clearly understand the meaning of this reply; if, instead of "dangerous," the word *troublesome* were substituted, it would perhaps render the thing more intelligible. Mr. Grubb agreed with me in thinking the apprehension of danger quite groundless.

There are ten yards; but three of them are unoccupied, and of course useless, because the gaoler thinks them insecure. In this, like the former objection, I found it impossible to concur. The whole prison is surrounded by

a wall of considerable height; and outside of that, at a distance of many feet, by another. In the area sentinels are planted, whose connivance, as well as that of the turnkeys, would be necessary to effect an escape. As the prison now is, classification is defective; if the three yards were put to use, it would be very complete. A strong spirit of accommodation is manifested towards debtors, whose wives and children are allowed to live in the prison; we noticed several women and children who were said to be thus circumstanced, while other debtors complained that they had been compelled to sleep on the floor without beds.

It struck me that parts of the prison were not so clean as they might have been, and should be: some of the water-closets were very offensive, though metal pipes lead to them all from a cistern at the top of the building. As the prisoners are doomed to idleness, it would be an indulgence to them to work at the forcing-pump, and to keep the cistern filled. There are coal stores, and other conveniences, of which no use is made, while some of the sleeping-cells are filled with coal.

Some distinguished personages, in a fit of ardour, I am informed, undertook the inspection of this prison about two years ago, and attended very regularly for a few weeks; during that time several more humble individuals, who had long shown a disposition to promote its interest, found it necessary to discontinue their attention, which has not since been renewed. Soon afterwards, the zeal of the exalted individuals began to sicken, and in a very little while died outright. Since that time the prison and its inmates appear to have excited but little interest in any class of the community. A late act of parliament, enjoining certain regulations in prisons, has not been carried

into execution, although the judge of assize (Moore) took much pains to impress upon the proper authorities the necessity of complying with the law in this respect. *

Fifteen felons are under sentence of transportation, some

* Since this sheet was put to press, I have been favoured with a letter from a friend who visited this prison in the end of the year; at which time its state was so much improved, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of laying an extract before the reader. That benevolent zeal, which has long characterized the Society of Friends, has been exercised, and a Ladies' Committee formed of all religious persuasions, two of whom attend every week-day. This excellent association owes its being to Mrs. Strangman and her amiable daughters.

"The wards, passages, and rooms were clean and well ventilated. It is highly satisfactory, and much to the credit of the grand jury, and superintendents, from the highest to the subordinate officers of the prison, that the most cordial co-operation has been afforded; so that whatever expences were thought necessary for the purposes of instruction, or fitting up desks, &c. have been liberally defrayed. The experiment of introducing quietness and order was first tried among the men, who very soon manifested their willingness to be instructed, and have become exceedingly tractable and respectful in their deportment. I saw their day-rooms, and was gratified in noticing the lessons hung upon the walls. Many of them appeared to take great interest in their spelling and reading.

"The female prisoners seemed at first the most formidable objects for the ladies' committee to encounter, being far more outrageous and untoward than the men: and some progress had been made with the latter, before any thing was attempted with those of their own sex: indeed, their language and appearance, together with their unruly behaviour, gave the impression that nothing could be done with them for their improvement. When I saw them, however, a very short time after the attempt was made, I found them respectful in their manner, clean and decent in their persons, with caps and aprons on, and well-behaved towards each other. They also took an interest in their spelling and reading. They are employed in knitting, spinning, and needlework; and the contrast to their former broils and quarrels is very striking. It is difficult to find suitable manual occupation for the men.

"The jailor assured me that his task was now easy, compared with what it had been; that the jail on the female side was orderly and quiet, and that he was seldom troubled with any ebullition of violence."

of whom have been a long time detained. The gaol allowance is fivepence worth of bread, which the prisoner is permitted to sell the moment he receives it, and a price of 3¾d. is fixed, with which the prisoner purchases potatoes, salt, and milk, at the highest retail prices, and thus sustains a double loss. Would it not be more consistent with the dignity and regularity which *ought* to be preserved in all public establishments, to fix a proper dietary, and prevent a miserable system of peddling, by which the wretched captive is cheated out of one-fourth of the pittance humanely allowed by the public?

The House of Industry affords an asylum to a large number of aged and infirm persons of both sexes, most of whom are employed in some way suitable to their infirmities. I saw a great many at work, who were all well clothed, and appeared quite contented. A portion of this house is set apart for the reception of unfortunate and disorderly females, who are kept at work during the period of their imprisonment: I saw about seventy of them spinning. While Mr. Grubb and I were there, the dinner was announced, on which they rose from their work, walked into the dining-hall, and seated themselves at a long table in a quiet and regular manner: their repast consisted of potatoes, milk, and salt.

Another part of this building is appropriated to lunatics; there are fifty-four at present. The manner in which these creatures flocked around Mr. Grubb, and his soothing treatment of every one who addressed him, reminded me strongly of the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Lifford. Many of these aliens to social happiness implored my intercession for permission to go and visit a parent, — a sister, — a wife, or a child. Some fibres of nature's tender cords still remained unbroken. One poor fellow caught me by the

skirt, and with fervid agitation, asked me, "Why am I kept so long from my Mary? Let me go and see her now." I endeavoured to get away, but his grasp was firm; — he looked sternly in my face, and exclaimed, "Mary thinks I'm dead — Mary doesn't think I love her — but you know I love her — every body knows I love her — doesn't Heaven know I love her? When may I go to her? — He burst into tears, and seemed torn with agony. I made another effort to release myself from a scene that would have melted a heart of stone; but he seized my hand, pressed it to his lips, and sobbed out, — "Aren't you the bishop? — do — do, I know you will — go, and tell my Mary, I'll come to her to-morrow — and tell her to put little Cain's green jacket on." Tears streamed down his cheek; — he anxiously watched for my reply; I bowed assent, — he again pressed my hand to his lips, fell on his knees, and permitted me to get away: I left the spot with feelings which no language can express.

Although I have more than once obtruded this subject on the notice of the reader, I cannot refrain from earnestly hoping, that it may henceforth receive a larger share of attention than has yet been given to it. The most unfeeling heart would sicken at the indescribable misery of some of the receptacles for lunatics, both public and private. Let him who would censure this appeal remember, that not a single ray of joy can illumine the minds of those most unfortunate objects; — that they are shut out from all earthly happiness; — that almost every tie which can bind rational man to existence is severed; and surely his humanity must recognize their claim to have every physical comfort carefully administered. Barbarous and ignoble must be the soul that could dictate unkindness, and cowardly the hand that would wantonly apply the cutting lash, or the galling chain, to a

brother thus humbled at his feet, — to a fellow-man formed after the fair image of his Maker, but now, by the mysterious will of Omnipotence, bereft of Heaven's sublimest gift, man's brightest gem, — the faculty of reason.

The dispensary, and fever hospital, are now, happily, not much frequented. The mendicity society has done incalculable good; its house affords shelter, and the means of subsistence to many miserable persons who would undoubtedly perish if left to shift for themselves.

In the afternoon, Mr. Grubb accompanied me in a short excursion I was desirous of making into the county of Waterford. The pernicious custom of forming dunghills in front of the cabin doors, and even inside the cabins, formerly so prevalent in Tipperary *, is, I am assured, still practised. Some benevolent individuals have endeavoured to improve the condition of the poor; but their efforts have not been aided, as most of the great, (if the possession of property alone can deserve such an appellation), look on with an indifference inconsistent with the natural warmth of the Irish character, or fly to other countries from scenes which can afford no pleasure, or may damp those agreeable prospects which alone can render luxurious life capable of full enjoyments, but strangers to those delights that touch the soul in making others happy.

With respect to tithes in these parts I have not been able to collect much authentic matter; as far as my information does extend, the demand inspires sentiments of discontent, and even of hatred, not only against the person authorized to receive its amount, but against the whole system, which they look upon with abhorrence, and consider as iniquitous and oppressive. Wholly uneducated and unenlightened,

* Tipperary is the sixth county in Ireland on the list of relative extent, containing 1591 square miles, and 242 souls to each mile: the total population is 385,022, of these 355,405 are of the Catholic religion.

they have conceived an erroneous idea, "that if the clergy can get the fleece, whoever chooses may take care of the flock." If education were to produce even no other effect than that of proving the fallacy of this deep-rooted opinion, it would be of incalculable benefit to the country, and would at least help to correct that mischievous habit which custom has long made familiar among the lower orders, namely, that of discussing the nature of tithes, with regard to which the humblest peasant who rears a stalk of corn or potatoe, is become a professed casuist, and a confirmed calculator.

21st. Set out this morning on the Cork mail. Among the passengers were a Mr. F——, one of the grand jury of Kilkenny, and Mr. T——, a dramatic gentleman, whose talents are well known in every part of Ireland; I was fortunate enough to get a seat beside the former, and found him well-informed and conversable. He acknowledged frankly that the "House of Correction" at Kilkenny had been productive of but little substantial benefit to the public. On every topic that came under discussion, his opinions were offered with candour, and tended to counteract that lassitude which frequently attends a long journey on a coach.

The crops are worse, generally speaking, in the country through which I passed this day than in any other part of the south I have yet seen, and the harvest is more backward. In several districts to the northward, the corn was reaped and stacked many days ago; to-day I noticed many fields of corn far from being ripe. Beggars not quite so numerous, although the cabins of the poor are as bad as I have seen them any where. The mendicant profession on this road appears to assume more independent and systematic character than is observable in other places; huts are constructed along the side of the road, in which the

beggar sits at ease and accosts the passenger, who flings his charitable offering, without danger of its being lost, to the object of his compassion, as the tenant of the hut is seldom without a female companion, if a man, or a crowd of children, if of the other sex. These temporary habitations are met with on almost every road in Leinster and Munster, but never did I notice them so numerous as on that just mentioned.

The general appearance of the poor, whether begging or working, is truly pitiable; several people labouring in the fields without so much covering as a shirt; a tattered garment fastened round the loins, and covering in shreds only about half the thigh, serves for all. Throughout the summer, work could not be obtained at any wages; and in order to eke out life, the poor were obliged to pawn and sell their rags of clothes; and now they are compelled to go naked. Heaven only knows what will become of them in the winter! This wretchedness is not confined to a single spot; its pressure is felt by thousands, though in some places less severely than in others. The very worst appeared between Clogheen and Fermoy, the road by which the coach travelled through Ballyporeen and Killworth.

It was the fair day of Ballyporeen. The coach passed through at one o'clock, when business is at its height, and the fair is usually full. The name of the town * bore a corresponding import with its abject appearance. The groups of half naked people, of all descriptions of age and sex, formed an assemblage of the most extraordinary appearance, of which words can convey no representation; yet amidst all the privations with which they appeared to

* Ballyporeen — the town of diminutive potatoes, unfit for human use.

have been visited, the notion of a festival seemed to light up an expression of gladness upon every countenance, but their joy served only to make their long-settled sorrow more conspicuous. The articles for sale were scanty, and of the homeliest sort: three lean cows, some pigs, calves, and sheep in similar condition, formed the live stock. Almost every man and boy was provided with a large stick, or rather club, as if prepared for battle; but the general distress had made them unable to purchase whiskey, so that every concern for a breach of the peace was needless. Even the disposition to enjoy the accustomed dance seemed laid aside,—so altered were the rustic manners by the pressure of penury.

Arrived in Cork about six, and could not procure a bed at any respectable hotel, the town being crowded by persons attending the assizes. It is customary on such occasions to raise the price of every sort of accommodation, for which, however, there appears no necessity, for the hotel charges in every part of the country are most exorbitant; and wherever the treatment was the filthiest and worst, there I have invariably noticed the charges to be the highest. I have been sometimes obliged to stop at places where I preferred sleeping on the floor to occupying the *lively* bed which was prepared for me; and yet my bill at those places was usually greater than at Gresham's, in Dublin, where the accommodation is certainly first rate.

22d. The proprietor of the Chamber of Commerce here procured me a bed last night at the house of a shopkeeper; and at my wonted hour I arose this morning, and walked through the city. Visited the market, which exhibited complicated misery; it was, in fact, a moving mass of rags and dirt, swearing, obsceneness, and fighting. Two women fell out about carrying a basket of vegetables that

had been purchased, and tore each others clothes all to pieces; they were both streaming with blood, and more resembled the idea one would form of furies, than rational beings. This incident gave rise to several other battles, in which many persons of both sexes appeared to be engaged; all were at once umpires and combatants.

Walked through some of the lanes, between six and seven o'clock, and visited several cabins after the families had risen. I was desirous of knowing how many persons had taken refuge in those places for the night, but I found the people very unwilling to gratify my curiosity, and in suffering their fears to be overcome, they intimated their expectation of "a treat" for their civility. The following table exhibits a concise view of the result of my inquiries, in eleven houses, on this occasion.

Number of Houses.	Number of Families.	Persons Present.		Persons Absent.		Total in each House
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
1	2	5	8	2		15
2	3	10	7	3	1	21
3	1	3	1			4
4	4	12	15	2	1	30
5	4	11	12	1	2	26
6	3	9	6	3		18
7	2	5	8			13
8	4	13	11		1	25
9	1	2	4			6
10	3	7	7	3	2	19
11	5	8	12	5	2	27
TOTAL	32	85	91	19	9	204

If the statement of the persons from whom the foregoing information was obtained may be credited, those cabins

average a population of eighteen and a half to each; and even if they deceived me as to the persons belonging to them who were then absent, still those whom I myself numbered give an average of sixteen to each house: it should be remarked also, that all these persons were Catholics. I inquired in each cabin how many had slept there the preceding night, but could only obtain answers from two of them, namely, the third and fifth; the question appeared to alarm and displease all the others: one man observed, "I suppose you are a Millstreet Peeler (the term applied to police-officers,) come here to look after some of the *innocent blades*; but take my honest word for it, I have nothing to do with it, nor never *giv'd* one of them a *mail's mait*, nor a bit of my blanket."

This table is not introduced for the purpose of determining an estimate of the whole population; for I am well aware how very difficult it is to arrive at any thing near the truth in such an undertaking, that, in fact, correctness is in most cases absolutely impracticable. When in the north of Ireland, some of my relations gave me the number and names of certain families, to whose houses I afterwards went, and put the question "How many are you in family?" but in no instance was the answer correct, — it was always *under* the actual number. Whatever be the cause of this disposition to represent their families as being smaller than they really are, it is quite certain that it pervades all the lower, and even middle classes of the Catholics in every part of the country; and that the poorer orders of Protestants are influenced by the same spirit, but in a much less degree.*

* Cork is the largest county in Ireland; containing an area of 2990 square miles, and 258½ persons to each mile: total population of the county 772,915, of whom 736,110 are Catholics. The city of Cork contains 122,970 inhabitants, of whom 102,475 profess the Catholic religion.

I had visited Cork in January, 1817, since which time, it appears greatly altered, and altered for the worse: several houses have been added, the population has wonderfully increased, and distress has more than kept pace with them both. Walking through the town, I met a highly valued old friend, whom I had not seen for several years; he invited me to his house in the country; I explained to him that the sole object of my visit to Cork was to see the people, and gain correct information on that and other points. He promised to assist my views respecting both, and we drove out of town in the afternoon.

24th. My friend, having a yacht, invited me to have a sail through the harbour at Cove, and along a part of the coast. We visited the *Surprise*, a frigate fitted up for a convict depôt, and afterwards a convict ship, called the Countess of Harcourt, about to proceed to New South Wales with male convicts. Her complement of prisoners had nearly arrived, and the judicious arrangements of the surgeon-superintendent, Dr. Armstrong, had already produced regularity; they were all as tractable as sheep; many of them were even quite cheerful. They might well be contented; — it was a happy change for them.* The condition of a convict in New South Wales is ten thousand times more comfortable than that of a peasant in Ireland, — in fact, there can be no comparison between them.

Having remained with my friend five days, and seen most places of any interest in the neighbourhood, I determined on prosecuting my journey. At seven in the morn-

* Mr. Commissioner Bigge, in his report laid before parliament in 1822, remarks: — "The convicts embarked in Ireland generally arrive in New South Wales in a very healthy state; and are found to be more obedient, and more sensible of kind treatment, during the passage, than any other class.

ing of the 27th, I left Ring, and proceed to Cork by water, a distance, I believe, of nine miles; the scenery was replete with beauty. The country rises boldly on both sides, giving the idea of a first-rate river winding its majestic course through a romantic glen richly planted, and thickly — rather too thickly, indeed, — bestrewed with beautiful cottages.

28th. Part of yesterday and the whole of this day have been spent in visiting the prisons, of which it is painful to speak or to think. In front of the Bridewell there are logs of wood, one end placed against the wall and the other extending into the street, by which the building is prevented from tumbling down, — an event most desirable, were the prisoners not to be involved in the ruin; for a worse prison cannot exist; — I mistake, the city gaol is worse, though not so dilapidated.

Here females of all descriptions, young and old, — novices in crime and accomplished offenders, are squeezed into a room twenty-four feet and a half by twenty-three and a half, without sleeping room or yard: here they cook and wash, and instruct each other in every thing that is infamous. The male prisoners are not quite so wretchedly off; they have three apartments. The superintendent, the Rev. Dr. Quarry, has made great exertion to organize a school, and not without success, although the only place in which it can be held, is the guard-room among the soldiers. A new gaol is being built about a mile out of town, which *ought* to be a good one. The dietary is, two pounds of best wheaten bread, and three pints of skimmed milk a day.

The county gaol is not quite so bad as the former; and as a considerable addition has been made, on an excellent plan, which will soon be ready for the reception of prisoners,

it is hoped the manifold evils of the former can now be avoided. I had an opportunity of conversing with Robert Costello, and the celebrated *Captain Rock*, Walter Fitzmaurice; both under sentence for the abduction of a young lady, to which, it appears, they were instigated by a monster named Brown, who has yet escaped the hands of justice. A school has been established here for several months, and has produced much good; many have learned to spell and read who previously understood nothing but Irish. The very liberal arrangements that have been made for the erection of prisons, give strong ground to hope that something like prison discipline may at last be introduced.

It would be uncandid to leave Cork without offering a justly-merited tribute of admiration to the talents and address of some of its *cooks*, as well as the magnificent spirit manifested by certain *citizens* who encourage them. I remember, the last time I was in Calcutta, to have heard the extravagance of a gentleman greatly spoken of, who had a pie made of the roes of six hundred mangoe fish, which were said to have cost a rupee each. What an exalted idea would not our Asiatic friends entertain of a place, where a certain dish costs upwards of *fifty thousand pounds?* There is one preparing, not far from Cork, which has already cost more than forty thousand pounds, and will reach sixty thousand pounds, by the time it is ready for use. I have seen this huge pie, and walked round it: its walls, or partitions, are numerous, curiously formed, and cannot fail to answer some of the purposes for which they were *designed*; a single one of them is said to have cost twenty thousand pounds; the material of which it is formed was manufactured under the superintendence of a *great* grandson of *Esculapius*, who sold a good share of the spice with which this enormous dish is so highly seasoned. How

delightful to have a finger in such a pie! — There must surely be sweet picking on some of the bones!

29th. Secured a place yesterday on the Tralee Mail-coach, and set out this morning at an early hour. When we had proceeded about a mile, one of the springs gave way, which obliged us to wait until the coachman returned to Cork and brought a smith to repair it. A very few miles to the westward of Cork, the country wears a rugged face, is badly cultivated, and exhibits a frightful population. Breakfasted at a little town called Macroom, which had been the theatre of distress, discontent, and disturbance last winter; the number of beggars that surrounded the coach, during this short time, exceeded any thing I had before seen. Men and women of all ages stood in a throng; the moving appeal of the females, contrasted with the silent, haggard aspect of the men, filled the breast with horror and compassion. Amidst all their wretchedness, these hardy tenants of the hills seemed to feel deeply the debasement of poverty; each man carried a stick, an accustomed companion, which had given occasional importance, perhaps, in the day of comparative comfort, among rivals at the fair or market; and even now it seemed an object as cherished as their last remaining strip of clothing.

Just before the coach started, two soldiers came up. They appeared to engage strongly the attention of the ragged crowd that stood requesting charitable relief. One of these, tossing the tattered great coat he wore, off the upper part of his arm where it hung upon his shoulders, said: "'Tisn't long, Emund, since them fellows wouldn't flourish about here in that way." "No," said his companion, "you may say that; and if they're wise, they wont stay here long." A third exclaimed, "They're all blood-suckers, and have no call here." Many others

muttered something in Irish, and all appeared to unite in execrating the unoffending soldiers.

Stopped a few minutes in Millstreet, where the beggars were as numerous as at Macroom, and looked, if possible, even worse: a great proportion of them were either blind or pretended to be so. The country still badly cultivated, and wearing a desolate appearance; the cabins excessively wretched. Met a great many little farmers driving their stunted horses with back-loads of butter, three casks each, to the Cork market. In this way, almost all the butter made in Kerry is conveyed to Cork, each horse carrying about three hundred weight, — a distance sometimes of more than a hundred miles.

Arrived in Killarney about three in the afternoon, and hearing that Dr. Elrington, Bishop of Limerick, had arrived for the purpose of holding a visitation, and was then in the church, I went thither. Several very interesting facts were elicited, which, were I here to detail, might have the appearance of invidiousness. An extraordinary anecdote, related by the Rev. Dean Bond, may be permitted. The reverend gentleman stated, that in the parish of *Brusna* there is not a single Protestant, and only one individual who can speak English. He also stated, that, in the year 1795, Admiral Moriaty interested himself to get a church erected. When it was finished, which happened to be on a Saturday, the key was given to the clergyman, with a request that he would go the following day, and read the service if he found any one there. He went accordingly, and could find neither people to preach to, nor church to preach in. The Catholics, he said, had pulled it down, and in one night carried it all away!

The visitation terminated before five, and most of the clergymen dined with the bishop; a small party, however,

dined at the hotel, where I was one. Desirous of gaining local information from such good sources, I put some general questions, which introduced a conversation, in which the state of the country, and the condition of the people were discussed. The distress of the poor, and inability to procure employment, were admitted by every one; but the ignorance and superstitions of the lower orders were urged with pertinacity, and the *natural* character of the Irish was represented in colours somewhat darker than I thought it deserved.

A circumstance of a trivial nature occurred, which for the moment tended to remove all difference of opinion. A poor fruit woman came into the room, and offered "Kerry pippins" for sale, declaring, "there isn't *betther* in the known *worl*." None of us seemed inclined to part with our money. "They're only a *fippenny* a dozen, plase your honour:. I'll give you a baker's dozen for a fippenny, and God knows I want it; for my husband hasn't a bit of work *this* six long weeks." She praised her "Kerry pippins" so loudly, and solicited for "a one fippenny" so earnestly, that the Rev. Mr. Matthews could not refrain from purchasing. He took a dozen at the price demanded, laid down the money, and the poor woman departed highly thankful. The apples did not realize the high character she had given of them; we all had partaken of them, and all taxed her with untruth. "There is nothing *like* truth or honesty in one of them" was just uttered, when the fruit-woman again made her appearance, quite out of breath. She exclaimed, "O Sir, you *giv'd* me a guinea." Mr. Matthews replied "I could not have given you a guinea, for I had no gold in my pocket." She insisted on it, and stepping to the table, laid it down. It was twilight at the time, but a candle happening to be brought in, the reverend

gentleman exclaimed: "It is certainly half-a-guinea; I have had it a great many years, but did not know it was in my pocket: I cannot imagine how it came to be there." A gentleman present drily observed, "There is something that strongly *resembles* honesty in that poor woman's behaviour."

30th. Rose at four, and walked directly towards the lakes. Early as was the hour, I was pestered with poor fellows offering themselves as guides; I accepted the services of one, and was attended by five others, each striving to do something for me that might entitle him to a trifle. I returned at nine, a good deal fatigued. Having some doubts whether I had not misunderstood the anecdote related yesterday to the bishop by the Rev. Dean Bond, I had an opportunity this morning of being fully satisfied, as I was so fortunate as to meet him and a great many other clergymen at breakfast. He told it again, and in the very words as I had written it down.

I had made some inquiry about the apple-woman who returned the half-guinea last night, and found the story she told about her husband being out of work, perfectly correct: she happened to be in the house at the time, and I spoke to her on the subject. She declared that she could not keep the money, and be happy. "The priest," said she, "would do nothing for me, and God would not forgive me; I am a hundred times happier than if I did keep it." The poor soul seemed perfectly delighted with something I said expressive of approbation or praise.

I was favoured this forenoon with an opportunity of looking over the accounts of the committee for the distribution of charity; they appeared to be kept with great regularity, but many of the poor are complaining that they have not been impartially treated. It would be quite im-

possible to please all. In the course of conversation after dinner yesterday, the Rev. Mr. Dowling represented the state of the peasantry in his part of the country, (Caher-civeen) in a manner so interesting, at the same time politely offering me an invitation, that I determined to accompany him, and a little after four we set out.

The first thing that struck me, as we passed through the country, was seeing great quantities of potatoe-ground turned up; whole fields are dug out, and but few are untouched. After leaving the town of Killarney, and getting beyond the lakes, the country puts on a wild appearance, being heathy, destitute of wood, and very badly and sparingly cultivated;—the cattle and sheep lean and diminutive. About seven arrived in a village, called Killorglan, which, for dirt and dreariness, may vie with any inhabited place in the universe; here we were to remain for the night.

An old black oak chest was opened, and some tea-cups with other "splendours" of the kind were taken out, which, I fancy, had not seen day-light for many months. Our landlady observed, "I washed them well, but I'll wash them again, if you like." — *Tea* was brought to us ready made. Had there been a blackthorn hedge, or any hedge or shrub in the neighbourhood, I could have readily believed that our "tea" had grown there. After this feast, one bed was prepared for Mr. Dowling and me! It is a common thing, in this country, for two travellers, even of respectability, to sleep together; on this occasion I preferred the floor, and never did I sleep more soundly.

31st. Had a long walk before breakfast. This repast consisted of eggs, tea, and toast; the first were fresh and could not be dirty; the others were the best the place could afford. Left this *hotel* at nine, and travelled twenty-

one miles over a bad road, which is the first I have seen in Ireland. I think it physically impossible for human beings to exist in a worse plight than are most of those in I saw to-day. Some of them had commenced digging their potatoes, almost as soon as the bulb was formed; and now almost every little garden, the cotter's sole estate, is exhausted,—the winter's hope has vanished; want stares them in the face;—their emaciated bodies are uncovered; and nothing can be earned in the way of employment. Surely this is consummate misery! Can imagination picture any thing more?

Amidst so much poverty I was surprised to meet so few beggars, but a little reflection explained the cause. So prevalent is distress, that mendicants might go into twenty cabins, and there get nothing but condolence; they, therefore, spare themselves the trouble and fatigue of travelling about the country for nothing; their common phrase is, "One may as well sit idle as work idle." Whenever we passed a cabin, the number of ragged females, and children frequently stark naked, who ran after us for miles asking charity, too plainly demonstrated the heart-rending calamity that has overspread the country.

Mr. Dowling appeared to be known to every person as we passed. Great numbers came to complain to him that they had made repeated applications for relief from the charity, and had spent many days in vain expectations on that account. One man shewed a summons issued against him because he complained of the partial manner in which he had been treated a few days before. We were overtaken on the road by a gentleman named Blennerhasset, a landed proprietor in that neighbourhood, who stated that the complaints of his tenants with respect to the distribution of the charity were very numerous.

Arrived at the glebe-house, Caher-civeen, about three o'clock. Being perfectly a stranger in this part of the country, I was astonished to hear that in the course of the evening several persons had come for the purpose of speaking to me. They were all desirous of making complaints relative to the distribution of the charitable fund, with which I assured them I had nothing whatever to do: they manifested much disappointment, and even went away with evident reluctance and discontent.

1st. Had an opportunity, as usual, of seeing something of the country before breakfast, which differs in no respect from that spoken of yesterday; poverty and nakedness apply equally to land and people. Went to church this forenoon, and numbered the congregation very easily. There were seven persons altogether, including the clergyman's wife, two children, and myself. Close to the church is a Catholic chapel, which I observed could not contain above one-third of those who assembled in the morning to worship: there is one much more capacious being built in in the neighbourhood.* After mass, the number that crowded round Mr. Dowling's house to make complaints respecting the charity, was quite amazing. I repeatedly assured them that I was only travelling for my private gratification, and had no concern with public affairs; but their clamour grew louder; and Mr. Dowling suggested the propriety of hearing the representations of a few of them the following day, to which I consented; and they went away with as much apparent delight as if their grievances, whether real or imaginary, had been already redressed.

* In point of comparison Kerry is the fourth county in Ireland: it contains 1763 square miles, and is computed at 143 souls to the square mile; the total population is 252,109, of whom 249,483 are of the Catholic persuasion.

Several assured me that the charity oatmeal had been kept so long, and so little attention had been paid to its preservation, that it was damaged and unfit for use. I went this evening to ascertain the fact, and found the assertion wholly groundless, — the oatmeal is as good as need be. It is a thousand times better adapted to the use for which it is intended, than is the house it is stowed in, which happens to be the prison, and is nearly as bad a one as can be found in the country.

2d. At an early hour this morning a crowd assembled in front of Mr. Dowling's house, and after breakfast a few were admitted. The representations of these persons were unanimous in substance, but lest what they advanced should lose any part of its importance, Mr. Dowling, who is a magistrate, examined them severally upon oath, which they voluntarily took as they came forward. They stated, that through the pressure of severe want they were compelled to dig up their potatoes at times when it was physically impossible they could do so with any benefit, but rather with a ruinous waste of that resource in future wants; and that many of them with numerous families had to subsist on even that miserable and worse than scanty supply for an almost incredible length of time; — that when the charitable distribution took place, they received occasional relief in return for daily work, at reduced wages; but that the relief so extended was virtually only about one half the amount of the order obtained from the distributors; — some declared, in the same solemn manner, that they were refused either provisions or work, whilst both were afforded to other persons like themselves, who were more fortunate in obtaining relief: — but all their declarations bore upon one point, namely, that they had not experienced relief to that extent, nor with that wholesome impartiality which the

subscribers must have had in contemplation. As this information involves some delicacy, though much of public interest, I have given the matter thus summarily, leaving the motives or merits of the proceeding as it stood between the parties concerned.

While these inquiries were going on a gentleman came in, Captain Berrell, revenue surveyor of the island of Valencia, and in the course of conversation stated that he had subscribed three pounds towards a fund to provide for the poor; and when potatoes arrived for that purpose, he had recommended one man as a fit object for relief, but he was refused; for which reason he would not again subject himself to a similar humiliation. This gentleman gives it as his opinion, that, from the manner of distributing the provision, it would have been much better had none at all ever arrived in that part of the country, and that the poor will be worse off next year. As many were driven to shift for themselves, and subsist on herbs and weeds, he thinks others might perhaps have done so too; whereas by constantly attending in hope of getting relief, many lost their time, and were obliged, after all, to return to to their cheerless homes, and embrace their wretched families with tears, all the solace left them. Without money, he further observes, they could seldom obtain any thing, be their wants ever so urgent.

In the course of the forenoon, Mr. Spotswood, a magistrate for Valencia, came in, and remarked that most of his tenants had been refused relief; that many of them have made affidavits of the fact before him; and that he himself would have very little hesitation in swearing that every one of them is true, as he knows the persons by whom they were made, and never suffered any one of them to make an affidavit without carefully examining him

on the subject. About this time one of the persons who came forward with their complaints, and whose appearance was somewhat superior to the others, produced a large bundle of papers purporting to be affidavits, which on examination appeared to have been sworn before the Rev. Michael Dowling, and John Spotswood, Esq.; these documents were accompanied by a written paper, now in my possession, of which the following is a copy:

" Affidavits, by different individuals complaining of having received none, or not a due proportion of the charity provisions imported by the London Committee for the relief of the Irish poor.

	Affidavits.
" In the parish of Valencia - - -	109
——— Killinane - - - -	49
——— Prior - - - -	70
——— Glenbegh - - - -	73
——— Cahir - - - -	48
——— Dromid - - - -	32
——— Killermulagh - - -	11
The number given Mr. Warmington to lay before the London Committee - -	84
Total - - -	476 "

Had I remained here some time longer, and been disposed to seek for information avouched in this manner, I could have collected materials for a volume. Some statements relative to smuggling are reserved for another place. This happening to be the fair-day in the little town of Caher-civeen, I went to see the country people assembled; and never did I see a village fair so crowded.

There were a good many black cattle and sheep, both of a diminutive growth; but I was informed there were no buyers. I saw a heifer, a year and a half old, disposed of for nine shillings, and that in payment of an old debt: I saw a lamb also several months old, which brought only twenty-five pence. Some idea may be formed of the depreciated state of things at this period, from the fact, that the Rev. Mr. Dowling received but one pound nine shillings, out of three hundred pounds due and to be paid on this very day for account of tithe.

In the course of the afternoon a battle took place, in which about a dozen persons of both sexes were engaged, and mauled one another without the least mercy. One man appeared to be an object of general hostility, and he defended himself with wonderful address; but the prowess of a woman vanquished him at last. This Amazon took off her apron, and enclosed in it a large angular stone, and winding this terrific catapult two or three times round her head, she then let fly at the head of her towering antagonist, still holding the ends of the apron in both her hands. The blow brought him to the ground streaming with blood; it was not necessary to repeat it; he lay along as senseless as a log. I was not able to learn the cause of the quarrel, but was told they were all Catholics.

Captain Berrell had formerly commanded a merchantship, and touched at several foreign ports, some of which I had myself visited since his time, which served to bring us more speedily acquainted. He invited me to accompany him to Valencia; having accepted his invitation, we departed about seven, and did not arrive till near ten, the tide being against us. He told me that Mrs. Berrell was descended from the ancient kings of Munster; and her

magnificent hospitality, together with her dignified easy manner, appeared strongly corroborative of the assertion.

3d. Although brought up to the sea, Captain Berrell has proved himself an excellent farmer, and in that respect sets an example to his neighbourhood. He showed me a large tract of deep bog planted with potatoes, which promised as good a crop as any in the country: sea-sand forms the principal ingredient in the manure by which this land has been reclaimed. I was favoured this morning with an opportunity of copying a chart of the Island of Valencia made by Captain Berrell himself, in which the soundings in every part of the harbour are laid down. After breakfast the captain's two sons accompanied me in a ride nearly round the island: we called at the house of the Right Honourable Maurice Fitzgerald, where the oatmeal provided for charitable distribution is deposited. About seven tons are still remaining, and the meal is in good condition, although I had been assured it was all spoiled. Indeed, great care and pains appear to have been taken for its preservation; it had been kept in an upstairs room, but the floor gave way, and it was removed to a store-room, which being considered unsafe, it was brought back again, and deposited in a parlour.

The accounts from beginning to end were shown me, and they appeared to be kept with great exactness. Nothing can be less enviable than the task imposed on the members of this and the neighbouring district committees; they have undoubtedly devoted much of their time to discharge the duties of humanity, and no one can question the fact, that vast numbers of distressed individuals have had their sufferings alleviated by the distribution of the charitable funds placed at their disposal.

We afterwards visited a slate-quarry, in which several persons are employed; their operations appeared to evince very little of that skill which is necessary to give any hope of success. Valencia exhibits the appearance of nakedness to the full extent of that term, similar to those parts of Kerry already noticed; but in proportion to its size it seems to be better cultivated, and more thickly inhabited. In the course of our ride numbers of poor persons of both sexes flocked around us, earnestly pressing on our attention several affidavits descriptive of peculiar distress, and expressive of disappointment experienced with regard to charitable relief: these documents bore the signature of Mr. Spotswood, the magistrate already mentioned, and of the Rev. Mr. Warburton, the rector of Valencia. In praise of this latter gentleman I had heard that the public voice was unanimous, which made me the less unwilling to peruse any papers recommended by signatures so highly respectable. I shall take leave to copy one or two of those affidavits, leaving the reader to form what opinion may seem most fit upon the tenour of each.

(Copy.)

"County of Kerry to wit. } By John Spotswood, Esq., a magistrate for said county. The affidavit of Johanna Driscoll, of Valentia, in the barony of Ivrah, and in said county:

"Who came before me this day, and, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth, that her family is *seven* in number; that the support of said family cost her this year *one pound and two pence*; that she was obliged for want of money or credit to commence to dig potatoes on the *first* day of July last; that during that time since she dug to the amount of *ninety-two spades* of potato ground; and

that she only got *five* pottles of charity meal without payment. Sworn before me this first day of August, 1822.

(Signed) " J. SPOTSWOOD.
(Signed) " JOHN WARBURTON,
" Rector of Valentia."

her
" JOHANNA × DRISCOLL."
mark

(Copy.)

" County of Kerry to wit. } By John Spotswood, Esq., a magistrate for said county. The affidavit of David Murphy, of Valentia, in the barony of Ivrah, and in said county, labourer:

" Who came before me this day, and, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists and examined, deposeth, his family consists of *five* in number; that he has no means to support said family except his daily hire; that the support of said family cost him this present year *one pound fourteen shillings and three halfpence;* that after consuming said sum, he was, through mere want and necessity, obliged to commence to dig potatoes on the seventh of July; that since that time he has dug to the amount of *forty spades* of potato ground, and that after making several applications for some part of the charity meal, he got none except what he paid for, notwithstanding all his distresses. Sworn before me this first day of August, 1822.

(Signed) " J. SPOTSWOOD.
(Signed) " JOHN WARBURTON,
" Rector of Valentia."

his
" DAVID × MURPHY."
mark

I shall trespass on the reader's patience with only one more, which was presented by a person whose appearance

indicated the last degree of wretchedness; it runs as follows:

(Copy.)

" County of Kerry to wit. } By John Spotswood, Esquire, one of His Majesty's justices of the peace for said county:

" The affidavit of Catherine Connor, alias M'Carthy, of the island of Valentia, barony of Ivragh, and in said county, who came before me this day, and being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and sayeth, that her family consists of *ten* in number; that the support of said family cost her this present year *six pounds fifteen shillings and five pence;* that after consuming the entire of that sum for their support, she was obliged to commence digging potatoes on the *seventh* day of July, and continued to dig since, and that she dug *seventy-one spades length* *, and got no part of the donation, except what she paid for. Sworn before me this thirty-first day of July, 1822.

(Signed) " J. SPOTSWOOD."

her
" CATHERINE × CONNOR."
mark

At the time I had made up my mind to accompany Mr. Dowling to Cahir, it was my intention to cross over to Valencia, thence to Dingle, and on to Tralee, whither my portmanteau had been forwarded from Killarney; but

* " In Kerry they do not measure by the acre, but the spade. They reckon, as I am informed, the breadth of their potatoe-ridge, or trench, to be an Irish perch, or ten feet and an half; the length, therefore, when 320 perches make an acre, they measure by the spade length, which is five feet and an half long; twenty of these Irish spades they suppose to contain eighteen stone of potatoes, or what they call two Kerry pecks, and there are little more than sixty-one score spades in the bed of 320 perches, or one acre."—Grattan's Speeches.

a heavy swell rolling into the bay, prevented boats from passing; I was on that account compelled to shape my course for Cahir.

4th. Mr. Dowling having offered to accommodate me with a horse, I set out this morning before five, and arrived at Killorglan by nine, after as miserable a journey as can be imagined. It rained heavily, and blew quite a hurricane, by the force of which the horse I rode was several times blown into the ditch. I had some knowledge of the entertainment of this place; I expected little comfort, and was not disappointed. Although drenched with the incessant rain, I was obliged to take my breakfast, such as it was, in a room without any fire. When I last breakfasted here, the contents of an egg happened to be let fall upon the oak-table, which still remained in the same place, and had assumed the hardness of cement; I have no doubt, from the general state of circumstances, that a traveller going that way some years hence, may find it in a high state of preservation. At ten, continued my journey across a range of moderately high mountains, during which I encountered more boisterous weather than in the early part of the day. At half-past twelve arrived in Tralee. In the neighbourhood of Cahir and Valencia, some of the materials for building, such as stone, sand, and slate, are found in abundance, but there is no appearance of lime, and timber must be imported.

Having got rid of my wet clothes, I called at the house of the local inspector of the prison, the Reverend Mr. Hurley, but was not fortunate enough to find him at home. I went alone to the prison, where I was equally unsuccessful, meeting neither the gaoler nor the principal turnkey; an assistant, however, conducted me through the prison. This edifice was opened for the reception of

prisoners in 1817, and consequently is nearly new. I was a good deal surprised to find the man who went round with me very eager to draw my attention to every thing which he considered a defect, whether in the construction or management of the prison; I had generally observed persons of this description anxious to gloss over and extenuate faults.

It required very little penetration to discover the defects of this prison, as they lay open to the observation of the most superficial observer, without officiousness on the part of any one else. Classification, inspection, employment, and education, are all in a state of deficiency. The day-rooms are described as being so smoky when a fire is kept up, that no one can remain in them; I saw one in this condition. There being no regular place for cooking, the prisoners are obliged to cook for themselves the best way they can, which is usually at all hours of the day, either to suit their habits or convenience, and this keeps the place constantly dirty. The dietary is ten pounds and a-half of potatoes, and a quart of skimmed milk a-day, during five days each week; for the other two days, three pennyworth of best wheaten bread, and a quart of milk each day; some of the prisoners showed me their allowance of milk, which they complained of as being sour; and there was good ground for the complaint, for it was quite unfit for use.

Returning to the hotel, I met the under-sheriff, who walked with me to the old gaol, in an apartment of which four lunatics were confined, *chained to the wall.* They were thought too furious to be taken out for the purpose of exercising either mind or body, and nothing like employment had been tried: it is feared that their convalescence will be very tedious. The Reverend Mr. Hurley called on me in

the evening, and expressed regret that he was not at home when I came, and signified a wish that I would again visit the prison with him the following morning, to which I readily agreed.

5th. Mr. Hurley came shortly after nine; and our first visit was to the secretary of the central committee, who happened to be from home. We next went to the house of a merchant, with whom the accounts had been deposited: this gentlemen laid them all before us, and took some trouble to make me clearly understand the principle on which they had been kept. I have more than once had occasion to express the satisfaction I felt at looking over accounts of this description; and, as far as I am capable of judging, these have been kept with great accuracy and impartiality; yet, even here, several of the poor are complaining.

From this we went to the gaol, and visited every part of it. During our stay a poor woman was brought in, committed for stealing threepence-worth of food. Several of the female prisoners made importunate and very impudent demands for charity. On looking over a book in which persons, visiting the gaol, are requested to put down any remarks that occurs to them, I observed the name "THOMAS SPRING RICE." Having heard much of that enlightened gentleman's talent and zeal, I was induced to peruse the whole of his remarks, which are made at considerable length, and in a very masterly manner. The first paragraph is so admirably descriptive of the inaptitude of this establishment to its end, that I am tempted to enrich my page by giving it a place.

"It is very much to be lamented, that the very considerable sum which the county gaol of Kerry has cost, should have been expended on a design totally inapplicable

to a large prison: but even if the plan had been an eligible one, the scale on which it is built is totally inadequate to the number of criminals generally committed for trial. Seven and eight persons, it appears, are sometimes confined within a cell, originally intended for one prisoner only. There is but one staircase for the entire prison; one chapel, in which criminals and debtors, males and females, the tried and the untried may communicate together without due restraint. It will be found that this intercourse, as well as that which takes place from the windows of one class and the yard of another, must endanger, if it does not defeat the successful proceedings in many trials. The supply of water is very ill managed; it neither affords a mode of cleansing the sewers, nor does it provide proper labour for the criminals. The beds are of the most dangerous, expensive, and objectionable kind, — the want of any description of gaol cloathing, or of employment, — these furnish a list of objections to the gaol of Tralee, as at present constituted, such as rarely can be brought against a modern prison."

I had the pleasure of meeting the physician of the prison, Dr. O'Connell, whose polished manners and well-informed mind must make him a great acquisition to the society of Tralee. Intending to go on to Tarbert this evening, I had ordered a gig, which was just announced when a letter was presented to me, addressed, "To the Inspector of Prisons." I handed it over to Mr. Hurley, local inspector, who was then with me; but after perusing it, he observed, "This is intended for you, it contains complaints against me." The prisoners, erroneously supposing that I was an inspector of the gaols, had addressed to me certain complaints against Mr. Hurley, who regretted exceedingly that I could not remain another day to gratify him with being present at an investigation of those charges.

I had little doubt they were unfounded; for I had noticed, the preceding day, something like a hostile or party spirit manifested towards that gentleman, by some of the attendants and prisoners.

I was aware that the local inspector had, on several occasions, received the thanks of the grand jury; — had his public conduct been less meritorious, it is more than probable he would have been a greater favourite with those amongst whom the complaint originated: the prisoners appear to be only the tools of others more deeply interested. Mr. Hurley assured me that the complainants should be heard by competent authority, and that a copy of the report thereon should be forwarded to me.*

At 2, P.M. I set out and travelled northward, the country varying but little from those parts of Kerry already noticed. Was again pursued by children quite naked, many of whom followed two or three miles; the road being rugged they were able to run as fast as the horse could proceed. Travelling for the first thirteen miles was tolerably well managed; but after feeding the horse, and cross-

* The following is a copy of the document promised on the above occasion, and which came to hand some time afterwards.

" We, the undersigned magistrates, having been called upon by the Local Inspector to investigate and examine into certain charges contained in a letter dated, ' Debtors' Hall, September 5th, 1822,' addressed to the Inspector of Prisons, and delivered to a gentleman who had, the day before, visited this gaol, and which, though affecting the character and conduct of the gaoler, were evidently intended to injure the Local Inspector. Now we have no hesitation in declaring that the said charges are totally unfounded, originating from the most malicious motives, and caused by the strict and correct attention to the several duties of his office, which the Local Inspector has uniformly manifested.

" (Signed) M'GILLYCUDDY,
JOHN BATEMAN."

" Saturday, September 7th, 1822."

ing a ferry, the animal became restive: the remainder of the journey grew tedious and disagreeable. I was stopped on the road by a woman of rather decent appearance, who presented a paper, and desired me to read it, which I did, and found it to be a certificate couched in extravagant terms in favour of a man whom she stated to be her husband. She next presented a pen and ink for me to sign my name, which I declined, having never before heard of the individual: the woman seemed quite astonished at my want of civility, and observed, "Every body I meet does it, that is a scholar; what harm will it do you?" I asked her how I could certify a thing of which I had no knowledge whatever; to which she replied in an angry tone, "Better gentlemen *nor* you has put *their* names to it, you may depend on't."

At a village called Ballylongford, the servant procured another horse to take us four miles, but before we got half the distance he set up like the former. The person from whom he had been hired was running after us, and as soon as he came up the driver immediately began to try what effect flogging would have on him, as it had ceased to produce any at all upon his horse. The poor man bore the first couple of lashes with great patience, but the moment another was given, he rushed on the driver, pulled him headlong out of the gig, and with his own whip returned the obligation with compound interest. I was still two miles from Tarbert; it was already dark, and I had fatigued myself by walking after the first horse had given up. I endeavoured to reconcile the combatants, which the promise of a naggin of whiskey easily accomplished: the one took my portmanteau on his shoulder, the other undertook to draw the gig, and we all marched on in the best possible humour.

6th. The poor at this place are as little satisfied with the charitable distribution as those in any part of Kerry. Persons of seeming respectability assert with great confidence, "that all has not been done that might have been done, and that some things have been done from which no very great advantage was derived by the poor." Many agree in thinking, that had no provisions been imported "it would have been a very bad *job* indeed."

At 1 P. M. departed for Limerick by water, and was much delighted with the scenery. In no part of Europe have I seen a finer river than the Shannon. It is superior to the Thames in every respect except in trade, for which it is far better situated, and a thousand times more accessible, as ships of the largest size may sail many miles up it in perfect safety, without a pilot. But, alas! most of these advantages are thrown away,— its trade is contemptible. In consequence of the Court being open for the trial of insurgents, and a subscription-ball to be held this night, there was some difficulty in getting a bed.

7th. Called on the Local Inspector of the city gaol, the Rev. Mr. Gubbins, who accompanied me to that establishment. If I say the building is old, it is almost unnecessary to add that the gaol is bad, for I have nowhere seen an old one constructed on a good plan. In this, classification, inspection, employment, and instruction are all wanting: it is, moreover, badly ventilated, and excessively gloomy. The keeper does not reside in the prison, which must add to its numerous disadvantages. The dietary is, a pint of coarse oatmeal, a quart of new milk, and a twopenny loaf a day: some of the loaves were weighed before me, and they seemed to average one pound three ounces. This prison might be made tolerable by adding to it the old

county gaol, which adjoins it, and is not at present used for any purpose.

From this I proceeded to the new county gaol, an extensive building, constructed on an excellent plan. Classification and inspection are here perfect; but employment and instruction appear to be as yet deficient. As, however, it has not been long occupied, it may be fairly presumed that its discipline will be greatly improved. Females have nothing to engage their attention, or wherewith to employ their time, except washing; and the males have only to work at a pump for a short time, and raise a small quantity of water. Hopes are entertained that a stepping-wheel will be introduced shortly, which will be of infinite value to the county.

As spinning and the manufacture of linen are but little understood in this part of the country, would it not be worth while to employ a well-conducted elderly woman to teach the females to spin, and work at their needle? A similar system might be adopted for the men. If some looms were erected, and a competent person provided to instruct them in weaving, the yarn spun by the females could be converted into linen, which would be some saving to the county; and many of the persons, thus instructed, would be enabled afterwards to earn an honest livelihood. Some objection appears to lie against allowing the prisoners clean sheets only once a month, and suffering the dirty ones to remain unwashed sometimes a month longer. There is no point of view in which this practice can appear beneficial.

The dietary is, seven ounces of oatmeal made into a quart of stirabout, which is eaten for breakfast with a pint of new milk; three pounds and a half of potatoes, and a pint of sour milk for dinner; this allowance is, in my opinion, by no means sufficient: the milk, moreover, is often

bad and unwholesome. Mr. Sands, the local inspector, had very properly noted these circumstances in his journal, and represented them to the managing committee, but no alteration has yet been made. These remarks are thrown out with great deference; the committee who direct the concerns of the prison have manifested great zeal in their attention to the interests of humanity; their regulations are most judicious, but they are not quite complete: very little more will make the county of Limerick gaol inferior to none in Europe.

Visited the house of industry, which gives shelter and sustenance to not less than three hundred and eighty-three individuals who would be entirely destitute, and many of whom would perish without such an asylum. Its inmates consist of ninety-eight poor women, and forty-three men; ninety-five girls, and eighty-nine boys; and fifty-eight lunatics, of whom forty are females, and eighteen are males: this disproportion of the sexes is remarkable. I saw the children at school, many of them have made wonderful progress for their years. The walls are hung round with boards, on which psalms and elementary lessons had formerly been pasted, but they are now worn off or quite illegible; they have not been renewed for seven years.

One of the lunatics, Joseph Boucher, appeared to be very ill of a bowel complaint, under which he has laboured for three weeks; the attendants state, that he has not been seen *by any medical man for the last four days!* Can this be possible? It is much to be regretted that so excellent an institution should not have the advantage of a commodious house. The directors and attendants appear to discharge their several duties with great fidelity. I have not seen better order or more respectful behaviour any where.

I went into several houses in Limerick, and found the

population greatly beyond any thing I could have imagined: Three families often occupy one room, and forty-three or more persons one house. I numbered thirty-one in a house between two and three in the afternoon; and there was a room containing two families more, to which I was not admitted. It is hardly necessary to say that all these places presented a very wretched appearance; but such sights have now become familiar, and produce but faint impressions on the mind, compared with what they did at first.

Since my arrival in this part of the country, I have heard so much said by every class of persons in praise of a certain gentleman, a landed proprietor, who constantly *resides* on his estate, that I am induced to mention him, in the hope that some others, by emulating his example, may also secure, while living, the affections of the poor, a tremendous majority in Ireland, and leave to posterity a venerable memory. The name of this respected gentleman is JOHN WALLER. His tenants are said to have lived in comparative luxury amidst the late widely spread ravages of famine and disease. They required no part of the bounty so charitably contributed by generous Englishmen; nor would he suffer a road to be made through his estate with the charity money. It seems something like a libel on the country thus to distinguish an individual who does no more than his duty. There may be many others who do so with equal zeal; — I have no doubt there are thousands, — but I was not fortunate enough to be present when any of them were spoken of in terms of such enthusiastic affection as characterized the eulogy on the virtues of Mr. Waller. The means by which this enviable popularity has been acquired are extremely simple; he wisely identifies his own interest with that of his tenants, being fully persuaded that they must stand or fall together.

8th. At nine A. M., set out for Nenagh. About three miles from Limerick, there were two carts with timber standing in the road, close to a bridge at the foot of a hill. As we descended the hill, the coach-horses took fright and could not be restrained; there was just room to pass the first cart, but not the second; the horses were galloping at full speed; the projecting end of the timber was on a line with the pier of the bridge; the coach struck against both at the same instant. The shock threw the driver before the heads of the leaders, a distance of at least eighteen feet: I was sitting on the box beside him, and, foreseeing the accident, held on firmly. The coach was broken, but not one in or on it sustained the least injury.

As the timber carts were the cause of the accident, we all blamed their drivers, but found, on inquiry, they could not help it. They had left Limerick at day-light, and proceeded about a couple of miles, when several fellows who had been concealed behind a hedge, jumped on the road, and fell upon them with bludgeons, and beat them most unmercifully. I went to a public-house whither they had been carried, and found them sadly abused. One had two contused wounds, which laid the skull bare for an extent of nearly three inches. This poor fellow was in a comatose state, and exhibited all the symptoms of apoplexy, but became sensible after losing a considerable quantity of blood. The head of the other was greatly contused, and he had sustained other bodily injury, by which he declared and swore, "I've bled above a *bushel*, and am sure there isn't another quart in my whole *carcage*, if you would squeeze me in a smith's vice."

While endeavouring to administer such remedies as the place afforded, a magistrate of the name of Crampton arrived, and in his care I left the ill-treated fellows. As to

the cause of the outrage, nothing satisfactory could be learned. Some stated that these men, having seen a party of fellows assembled under suspicious circumstances some time before, had spoken of it unguardedly, and that the present chastisement was "only a bit of a hint to keep them from blabbing the next time." Whether this sage remark originated in fact or mere surmise I know not. In consequence of the accident, we did not arrive in Nenagh till half past one.

It would be difficult to point out a finer piece of road than that from Limerick to Nenagh, twenty-four miles; there is scarcely a hill in it, and for miles it is perfectly straight. The country, indeed, exhibits a cheerless appearance, being badly and scantily cultivated; the hedges few, and scarely any trees. Two or three miles from Limerick, on the left, is Mount Shannon, the seat of the Earl of Clare, which is seen to great advantage, as contrasted with the nakedness of the surrounding country. A few miles further, on the same side, is Castleconnell, by far the handsomest village I have seen in the south. The Shannon is here expanded into a fine sheet; the neighbourhood is tolerably well wooded; the houses being all whitewashed, give an idea of comfort that strongly reminds one of Down or Antrim; and the idea gains strength from a little bleachgreen, the first I have seen in Munster.

The county of Limerick is better adapted for the growth of corn than any other, I believe, in the kingdom, and large quantities are raised in it even now; but if certain checks on industry were taken off, the quantity would be enormous. Thousands of poor, who are pining in idleness, would then be employed in raising food for their starving families, and cultivating those extensive tracts of country,

over which cows and sheep are now thinly scattered, or which lie entirely neglected. *

Having got a gig I proceeded to the northward about seven miles, and called on two gentlemen to whom I had introductions. One of them, Mr. Fitzgerald, a landed proprietor in both Tipperary and Kerry. From this gentleman I was desirous of obtaining information as to the state of rents, and inquired whether he did not think they should be greatly reduced. He agreed with me fully that they should, and that unless a reduction do take place, landlords will very shortly get no rents at all. "For my own part," said he, "so far from getting rent, I have been obliged to support my tenants this year, else many of them must have starved."

Mr. Fitzgerald's connection with the South appears to have brought him well acquainted with the sentiments of the people. Tithe exactions, he says, are the exhaustless source, whence spring nine-tenths of all the evils under which Ireland is groaning; that the ingenuity of man can devise no efficient remedy, while this oppressive millstone is left to hang round the neck of the poor, and to repress all their industrious efforts. It is not the poor alone of this or that persuasion of religion who are discontented: he states that the system is equally hated by every sect and class of the people. That this is really the state of the case is fully corroborated by my own observations in every part of the country. In the evening returned to Nenagh.

* The county of Limerick ranks ninth on the scale, and contains 1045 square miles; its total population, at 235¾ to the square mile, is equal to 246,359, of whom 242,320 are Catholics. The population of the city of Limerick is estimated at 92,367, of whom 85,131 profess the Catholic religion.

9th. Visited the Bridewell: in this place criminals of every description are associated. There is a chamber called a day-room, provided with a large window communicating with the street. The prison is situated beneath the sessions-house, and its state is any thing but clean. Several of the prisoners complain that they are obliged to lie on the bare boards, some of the cells being entirely destitute of bed and bedding; yet this, hard as it is, is infinitely better than the piles of filth, called beds, in the sleeping places.

I waited on one of the magistrates, Mr. O'Meara, to inquire whether beds and bedding could be procured, to which he replied in the negative; and further observed, that Mr. Holmes, the proprietor of the town of Nenagh, represented the case to the grand jury last assizes, and that they would not present any thing for it. There is one yard, both incommodious and insecure; if any exercise be permitted in it, all the prisoners of course associate; but I fancy it is not often used. The key was covered with rust, and opened the lock with difficulty; hence I presume it is not often called for. The dietary allowance is similar to that which obtains in the county gaol, the merits of which have been already sketched, — five-pence worth of bread a day. The prisoners' appetites are expected to act like barometers, and keep pace with the rise and fall of the markets.

At noon left Nenagh, and returned to Limerick. Called on the secretary to the Central Committee, the Rev. Mr. Pinkerton, who showed me the manner in which the accounts of the charity had been kept, and explained the principle on which the distribution had been conducted: they both appeared admirable. All relief from the charity ceased this morning; still many poor creatures are nearly as ill off now as they were the first day it was opened.

There are crowds of poor, ragged and hungry, who can obtain no employment. What are they to do?

Four deluded wretches have expiated their offences this morning. No reflecting man, whose mind is not wickedly perverted, can question the necessity of restraining the wild career of such men; but whether extirpation be the best and only remedy that can be applied to such evils is, to say the least of it, not quite so evident. Those unfortunate beings, regarding themselves as martyrs to a good cause, not only met death with indifference, but embraced it with frenzied ardour. "We are only a branch off the tree; there are plenty left to do the business," said they, while standing on the awful threshold of eternity. Happy for the country had these evil-starred men carried their dangerous sentiments to the grave; but there is too much reason to fear they have bequeathed them to sympathizing companions, who are but little disposed to put the candle under a bushel.

10th. Waited on the Rev. Mr. Pinkerton again this morning, and had a long conversation with him relative to the country, on the state of which he appears to be well-informed. A meeting of the committee having been appointed for this day, he very politely invited me to accompany him thither, and I accepted the invitation. I had the honour of meeting the bishop, Dr. Elrington, who manifested a desire to promote the object of my inquiries, for which I feel sincerely obliged. The state of the country appeared to excite in his lordship the liveliest interest; he has no doubt that the poor will be as badly circumstanced next year as they have ever been. The behaviour of the unhappy men who suffered the preceding day, coupled with his very extensive knowledge of the country, struck him as strongly portentous of future mischief. The

conversation was deeply interesting, but being engaged to proceed to Ennis by the mail, I was compelled most reluctantly to depart. His lordship had already told me of the distress felt by the clergy; he now repeated with peculiar emphasis, "I beg to impress it on you, that the clergy can get nothing whatever."

It is impossible for any man who values the welfare of this country, and the cause of religion, to contemplate such a state of things with indifference. The fact alone is alarming, and if the circumstances in which it originates be duly weighed, the necessity of applying some efficient remedy will appear of vital importance to the wellbeing of the state: — *vox populi*.

Several parts of the road to Ennis are bad, and a great deal of the country is rugged and uncultivated; in many places the surface is so completely covered with stones, (limestone, it appeared,) that a single blade of grass is not sustained. There is, however, a great deal of good pasture land; some of the finest sheep I ever saw are here. The road passes through the estate of Sir Edward O'Brien a considerable way; and about seventeen miles from Limerick, his splendid mansion is seen from the road, but not to advantage. I believe Sir Edward is the most extensive farmer in Ireland.

Arrived in Ennis shortly after five, just as a committee of ladies was breaking up. This meeting was called at the request of Lady O'Brien, for the purpose of making arrangements to benefit the poor. The exertions of Lady O'Brien to alleviate the sorrows of the distressed, appear to have been zealous, unremitting, and highly efficient: her benevolence has not been thrown away. Many a prayer have I heard offered up to heaven for her ladyship's preservation and happiness. Surely a name of this

sort, and the sentiments which must be inspired by the consciousness of deserving it, are as enviable as any that can arise from a "rout," a "drum," or an "at home," where none are fed but those who can well afford to feed themselves.

11th. Waited on the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, local inspector of the prison, who accompanied me thither. The county gaol of Clare is by no means badly constructed, though it cannot at present be called a good prison. One irreparable evil attends it, that of being situated on low ground, consequently there is not sufficient fall from the sewers, which is sometimes productive of considerable inconvenience. For classification and inspection provision has been made; but employment, though not neglected, is not sufficiently extensive and constant. Education is, unfortunately, entirely wanting. A school was instituted formerly, from which the very best effects resulted. Many who came in totally ignorant went out able to read and write; but the grand jury gave it no encouragement, and it dwindled into disuse.

It would not fail to be highly interesting to the public if that august body would condescend to state their motives for not encouraging education. "A little learning may be a dangerous thing" among an overgrown and starving population; but just as much as would enable them to read the Scriptures, which would teach them their duty to God and their neighbour, and would moreover inculcate *patience* under the severest afflictions, might be encouraged, one would think, without much danger.

The Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald is endeavouring to get the school re-established. That gentleman's exertions have not been unsuccessful, in other respects, heretofore; his judicious regulations and unwearied attention have been

productive of a degree of order among the prisoners, and cleanliness throughout the prison, highly creditable to all its officers. It is much to be regretted that the ladies have not yet formed a committee to extend their benevolent care to this prison. The Catholic clergyman performs divine worship at nine o'clock on Sundays, the Protestant at eleven. The dietary rule is a loaf weighing two pounds, and a quart of new milk a-day, to each prisoner.

From this I proceeded to the house of the secretary to the Central Committee, whom I was not fortunate enough to find at home, but was referred to another gentleman, who favoured me with a view of the accounts, which appear to have been kept with great correctness.* There is a balance of four thousand two hundred and twenty-nine pounds odd in favour of the charity, which the committee intend to lay out in releasing from pawn articles of clothing and furniture, which the poor were obliged to dispose of during the spring and summer. I saw a large basket full of pawn-tickets which had been brought in, and five times as many more were expected. Nothing can be more judicious or humane than the active measures the committee are adopting. Wringing distress had compelled thousands of poor to part with nearly all their clothes, and the entire of their furniture; all the peasantry are ragged, if not naked, and many have neither pot nor saucepan left to boil their potatoes in.*

12th. Having hired a gig yesterday to convey me to Galway, I set out this morning at day-light. The road for the first thirteen miles is bad, and the country very

* In proportional extent Clare stands eighth upon the list of counties in Ireland. It contains 1125 square miles, with 212¾ persons to the square mile. The total population is therefore 239,344, and of these 256,389 profess the Catholic belief.

indifferent; corn still standing in the fields, and the crop very light. At the time I left Ulster, nearly six weeks since, almost all the flax had been pulled some time; but here are small patches only in blossom, called "blue-bow," which will require some weeks to ripen. The season is much later here than in other parts of the country; and the mode of farming, if it deserve the name, the very worst I have anywhere seen.

Towards Gort, the road and country improve a little, and continue to do so nearly three miles north of that little town; they then grow worse again, and for eight or nine miles the country is wholly unproductive, — an acre of it would scarcely feed a goose. I never saw so complete a picture of desolation; the eye wanders over an immense tract of country, in which neither tree, nor shrub, nor vegetable of any sort, is discernible. Fuel too is wanting; and yet there are cabins scattered over it, around which a scanty verdure, produced by extreme art, is an exception to the general barrenness; and swarms of children, the dressing or undressing of whom gives their mothers no trouble whatever.

In the course of the journey I alighted and went into several cabins, which are almost as destitute of furniture as the children are of clothing. In one I found eight persons, — a man, two women, and five children, all, except two of the latter, labouring under fever. Each of these two had a raw potatoe in its hand, but there was no fire to cook them; nor was there a creature that could hand another a cup of water, — there was not so much as a cup of water in the house. Four lay in one corner, with nothing between them and the clay floor but a few old rushes, and no covering whatever but the ragged garments they wore; the other two lay in the opposite corner, on a similar bed,

with a thing over them that had once been a blanket, and was now absolutely moving with vermin. Gracious Heaven! what will become of this afflicted family? — The only cooking utensils in the place were two iron pots and an old tin saucepan; I desired my driver to fill them all with water from a pool close by; but he refused to touch any of them, lest he should catch the fever. I was glad to learn that this iron-hearted calculator was not born in Ireland or Britain! A poor stocking-man came up before I went away, who consented to attend them one day, and most cheerfully went off to a huxter's to procure a scanty supply of the necessaries of life. In another cabin into which I went, there were two persons sick; one with fever, the other, consumption.

At three in the afternoon, arrived in Galway. The first place I visited was the fever hospital, which, unfortunately, has too many wretched inmates, and each succeeding day brings in fresh objects. Visited several of the public buildings in the course of the evening.

13th. Walked through the town at an early hour, and visited many cabins soon after their occupants had risen, and nothing can exceed the wretchedness that every one presented. I have often tried to describe those places, but language is vain: to have any thing like a correct notion of them, they must be seen; worse than these I should think quite impossible. There were twenty-nine persons in one cabin, but I could not learn of how many families they consisted.

Visited the county gaol, which is constructed on an excellent plan, and enjoys every benefit that can possibly arise from a good situation. The great advantages of classification and inspection are fully secured; but employment is very deficient, the males are completely idle.

There is a committee of ladies, some of whom attend every day to instruct the unfortunate females, who have profited greatly in every respect by this humane attention. Linen yarn, rugs, and several fancy articles were shown me, which had been manufactured in the prison by persons who had never before used a needle.

There are two schools, which appear to be well attended, but there is a scarcity of books; few of the prisoners understand any language but the Irish. Want of employment, want of baths, and want of apartments for crown evidences, are among the principal defects of this prison; the floors are formed of rough flags, which must be very difficult to keep clean. Divine worship is regularly performed, and the Catholic clergy make no objection to the Scriptures, or any other useful books, being put into the hands of prisoners of their persuasion. Dietary allowance, two pounds of brown bread a day, without milk, or any other nutriment whatever. The baneful practice of detaining felons after conviction was noticed in the prisons I first visited: I am now enabled to state, that it obtains throughout all the prisons in the kingdom; here they are detained eighteen months. It should be remarked, that this error can only be rectified by the government.

On the south side of the county gaol is that belonging to the county of the town, which has the benefit of good situation in common with the former, and this is the only advantage it possesses; classification, inspection, employment, and instruction, are wholly wanting. There are only three wards, with a yard to each, for all descriptions of prisoners of both sexes. An addition was made to it last year, which appears to have been of very little benefit to the prisoners, whatever good it may have done to persons outside. The floors are as rough as those

of the other prison, and culinary utensils of every sort are wanting.

The local inspector states, that "the grand jury will not present a shilling to provide any thing for this prison, though its wretched condition has often been represented to them." If any unforeseen, unmerited, or unfortunate accident were to compel a few of those *feeling* gentlemen to become inmates of such a place for a single week; — if they were obliged to eat a brown loaf, and drink water out of *a nasty old hat*, as the prisoners now do, the case would, doubtless, be very cruel; the whole country would be filled, and justly too, with indignant complaint. Of what materials are the more humble prisoners supposed to be formed? Have they no rights which should be respected, or feelings which should not be wantonly outraged? Many of them may be innocent, but even allowing the contrary to have been proved, still have they claims on humanity, which will seldom be disputed. He who can deny himself the exercise of that divine attribute, MERCY, on the broad principle of unbending justice, cherishes a sense of propriety by no means to be envied. The dietary is, two pounds of brown bread only, similar to that of the other prison.

In one of the cells was an old man employed in setting up types for printing a newspaper. There were in another cell three men, Matthias Doran, Timothy Malony, and James Killeen, confined under circumstances somewhat extraordinary. Nearly ten years ago, Doran and Malony were convicted of selling a small quantity of whiskey on which duty had not been paid, and all the property they had was sold at the time to pay the fine, but the sale fell short of the whole amount. Doran was afterwards employed as a revenue policeman, and the other followed

some little industrious occupation without molestation, and maintaining a quiet inoffensive character until the 22d of August last, when they were both thrust into this miserable prison for the remainder of the fine. Killeen's case is exactly similar to the foregoing, except that his offence was committed and his property sold only six years ago. I took some pains to ascertain their character, and was assured, on authority of the first respectability, that they were all harmless and industrious. Conceiving that their imprisonment was owing to mistake, or the interference of some attorney desirous of fees, I submitted the case to the Right Honourable Henry Goulburn *, as the most direct channel through which redress might be obtained.

Leaving this mansion of idleness and wo, I waited on the secretary of the Charity Committee, the Rev. Mr. D'Arcy, whose politeness, intelligence, and benevolent zeal are too well known, and his merits too generally appreciated, to receive any additional honour from my pen. He showed me the accounts, which have been kept in a manner so clear and simple, that there is no difficulty in understanding them. He, moreover, invited several members of the Committee to meet me in the evening, for the purpose of more fully explaining the general principle on which they had acted. The public spirit and humanity manifested by some of them do credit to themselves and their country.

By their judicious arrangements, and devoted attention to the duties they had undertaken, many thousands must have had their sufferings greatly alleviated: the number of

* This letter was not honoured with a reply, but I have since learned that it was sent to the collector of excise at Galway, who was desired to state what sort of character the prisoners bore. That gentleman, I am informed, reported very favourably; but the prisoners were still in confinement in October, the time I left Ireland.

poor persons that sought refuge from starvation in this town during the summer is incredible; but in their flight from famine they plunged into pestilence; and many fell victims to contagious fever, a certain attendant on poverty and want of cleanliness.*

There is not a district of Ireland where the meliorating effects of education are more necessary than in this. The general body of the people is, as it were, immersed in Bœotian night: Mr. Hardiman, in his History of Galway, page 294, makes the following remark: "From what has been already said, it may be concluded, that the inhabitants of the Claddagh are an unlettered race, but they seldom have either inclination or time to be otherwise. They rarely speak English, and even their native language, the Irish, they pronounce in a harsh discordant tone, sometimes scarcely intelligible to the town's-people. It is said, that they consider it a kind of reproach to speak English, or to send their children to school, and that a schoolmaster among them would be considered a phenomenon; but of late, there are some exceptions to this rule." A small man of war, His Majesty's ship Brazen, is at present in the harbour, and occasions some stir and bustle in the town.

With respect to its commodiousness for extensive trade there are many opinions. In several respectable publications it is described as possessing many advantages, being easy of access, and perfectly safe, which appears to be the opinion also of the inhabitants. I have conversed with many naval officers, who had long served on this station,

* Galway ranks second on the relative list of the counties, being 2593 square miles in extent, with 137½ persons on each square mile, making a total population of 356,537, of whom 351,135 are Catholics. The town of Galway contains a total of 37,187, and of these 35,416 profess the Catholic religion.

and they invariably described it as being a most dangerous coast during the winter months. Several have assured me, that they never encountered worse weather in the North or China seas than here.

The harbour and coast abound with fish; but this exhaustless treasure, which, if properly managed, would greatly enrich the country, and give useful employment to the people, is of comparatively little value, owing to the fishermen's want of means to prosecute their avocation with advantage, as well as their inability to cure what they succeed in taking. The following remark on the subject is taken from Mr. Hardiman's History, page 296.

"The herring fishery, which is the most valuable on the coast, sets in twice every year; first in harvest, and afterwards in winter. For some years past, the herrings, from some unknown cause, made their appearance much later than formerly: the winter fishery, which usually began early in November, and ended on Christmas eve, does not now commence until the end of February, or beginning of March; but the vast shoals annually taken are astonishing. The herrings are larger, and esteemed of a much better quality, than those taken on the coasts of Scotland, but that industrious nation far exceeds us in curing and saving the fish. On the commencement of the season, vessels from England, Scotland, and many parts even of Ireland, attend in the different creeks and harbours of the bay, and purchase the fresh fish, which is immediately cured and prepared for exportation. It is much to be lamented, that this practice does not awaken the attention of the merchants of the town, who might individually, or by forming themselves into companies, take advantage of those treasures which people of other countries annually carry away from their doors. The liberal encouragement, however, now

held out by government to the Irish fisheries may, perhaps, stimulate their industry. For this encouragement the country is not a little indebted to the late collector of Galway, whose exertions to promote this great source of national wealth are deserving of the highest praise."

It is in place here to observe, that premiums of every description are on too high a scale, being out of the reach of the poor generally, for whose benefit they were originally designed; monopolies are formed by means of superior capital, and the rich merchant generally reaps, though the poor labourer may sow. This particularly applies to the fisheries on the south and west coasts of Ireland. Poor industrious men may catch the quantities of fish for which premiums are granted, but were they to catch ten times the quantity, their claims are disregarded; the bounty will not reach them, should the boats in which the fish were caught happen to be under a certain size: thus, many are prevented from embarking in the concern at all. The meshes of the nets and seines are required to be of such large dimensions, that pilchards and other small fish pass through them. It may be proper to remark, that this information is derived from intelligent persons of extensive experience, who have no interest whatever in the business.

14th. Having arranged for a conveyance to Tuam, a distance of seventeen miles, I set out this morning soon after daylight, and arrived by eight o'clock. In the course of my drive this morning I met several families, some three or four together; some carrying pots, others old tin saucepans, and some old chairs, stools, &c. Not having seen beggars thus provided with cabin furniture in any other part of the country, I inquired their motive, and was informed, that they had been cotters to different persons in the

neighbourhood, and were turned out of their little holdings because they could not make up the rent, and it would not be received in labour. Some of them stated that they had worked for their masters while the harvest lasted, but that the valuation of their labour fell short of the rent; and the landlords (middlemen) having nothing more to do, had sent them about their business. This being the market-day of Tuam, brought together a great many of the country people, whose squalid and wo-begone appearance it would be as superfluous as painful and difficult to describe.

A gentleman of the first respectability related to me an anecdote, which I insert, in the hope that it may amuse some and *instruct* others of my readers. Sir G. S., "an everlasting absentee," and extensive landed proprietor in this province, instructed his agent, in 1820, to make up his rents, and not to receive less than the full amount. The agent accordingly assembled the tenants, and stated the orders he had received from the landlord; but their ragged appearance gave him little hope of getting much money from any of them. Every one, however, came prepared to pay a part of the rent. Some had mustered up two-thirds, some a half, others a quarter, and some still less. It would not do: the orders were peremptory, "the whole or nothing."

In about a month afterwards, the agent having received fresh orders, assembled the tenants again, and found their appearance greatly improved. He exclaimed with delight, "I am authorized to take what you offered me before, and the remainder at a certain day; but from your appearance, I have no doubt, you have now brought the whole rent." To this they replied: "We have neither the whole nor any part of it now to give. When we came before, we

offered all we could raise, and had you taken it, ourselves, our wives, and our families, would be in rags all the year; but as that would not be received, and we knew it would be *quite impossible* to make up the whole, we went and purchased clothes and other necessaries, for ourselves and our families; — there is not one of us with a tenpenny left."

During my stay in Galway, I heard of an inn or house of entertainment, which has been established and well-attended for years, wherein a gallon of *licensed* whiskey has never been sold; and I had this day an opportunity of assuring myself of the fact. The proprietor of the house contracts with a person to supply whatever quantity of smuggled spirits he may require, at a fixed price, throughout the year; and whether it be abundant or scarce, cheap or dear, the price is the same, and the supply perfectly regular. Would it not be quite as creditable to prevent such an organized system of fraud, as pouncing on three miserable old men without a shilling in their pockets, and shutting them up in a vile prison for an offence committed many years ago, and for which all the expiation in their power was made at the time?

The land between Galway and Tuam is sparingly cultivated; this circumstance is occasioned principally by a deep-rooted and general aversion to the payment or even to the name of tithe: many persons, I am positive, would rather throw five pounds into the sea, than give as many shillings for such a purpose. Unfortunately, too, there are very few that can afford to pay either tithe or rent, or any thing else. The grand jury, some time ago, presented fifteen hundred pounds for the repair of the church, and to carry on other necessary improvements; but great difficulty has been experienced in raising this trifling sum,

nor has the whole of it, I believe, been as yet collected: such is the condition of this large county.

In the dress of the females who attended the market this day, a distinction was pointed out to me which is both curious and convenient. It is a custom, I find, in every part of this district, for women who can speak English to wear coloured ribands on their caps or bonnets: thus a stranger unacquainted with the vernacular tongue, may save himself the trouble of addressing persons to whom his discourse would be unintelligible.

At 3 p. m. set out with the mail for Castlebar, — the road good, — the country better than what I had seen in Galway, but very indifferently cultivated. Saw several families travelling with cooking utensils, similar to those mentioned in the morning; and some sitting by the road side. One of these groups consisted of a man, a woman, and nine children. When the coach arrived at Castlebar, I was induced by the representations of a passenger, whose conversation proved very interesting, to proceed to Westport.

15th. Got a horse, and set out at a very early hour to visit Croagh-Patrick, the foot of which is distant from Westport about four miles. Having left my horse at a cabin, I proceeded on foot, and gained the summit of this magnificent cone just as the sun was beginning to illumine the horizon. The morning was delightfully fine, and the prospect perfectly superb. The attention was insensibly attracted by the rising sun, whose radiance was intercepted by small, dark coloured clouds, which appeared accumulated, and folded like a heavy drapery seemingly opposed to his brilliant progress. Their fantastic shapes varied every instant in beautiful illusion, and every change of form was enriched by a diversity of tints exhibiting the

most exquisitely coloured drapery. In contemplating so sublime a scene, the mind is irresistibly impelled into admiration of the inconceivable wisdom of the Great Creator. Amidst these reflections the attention was presently drawn towards the sun suddenly bursting through the clouds in matchless splendour, dissipating every vapour, and pouring a boundless flood of light over an immense extent of ocean, and an interminable prospect of wild mountain scenery: all was clear, calm, and serene. In the descent I met several parties provided with baskets, from which it appeared they intended to breakfast on the *Rick*,—so the the mountain is familiarly called. 'What a rich treat they would have had an hour and a half sooner.' I got back to the town about nine, having profited not a little by my exercise. After breakfast walked towards Westport-house, whence the prospect is truly grand.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Sligo is proprietor of the town of Westport, and a vast tract of coarse mountainous country in its vicinity. It is a thriving little place; the streets paved and flagged; the houses neatly built of stone, and slated, from quarries of that material in the neighbourhood. It has a smart linen-market, which is attended chiefly by persons who have emigrated from the county of Armagh within the last twenty or thirty years. A considerable trade in pork and oats is also carried on; but the harbour is too small, and the channel too narrow and intricate for extensive commerce.

Westport-house, the site of which is properly where the town should stand, is a magnificent mansion, but of rather heavy appearance, situated between the town and quay, and commands a prospect seawards of extreme interest, and one which would form the subject of a noble picture. On the right is a high, reclaimed, infertile, hilly ridge,

exhibiting marks of the most careful cultivation: in the centre the quay, with lofty warehouses and shipping, Clew Bay, studded with its numerous islands, — Clara, — Bofin, Achil, and the blue Atlantic: the left is occupied with a range of irregular mountain, crowned with the lofty Croagh-Patrick, rising 2,700 feet above the level of the sea, which washes its base at Morisk, the property of Mr. Garvey, to whom this beautiful mountain belongs. At the extremity of the Croagh, westward, is a neat little town named Louisburg, the property of the Marquis of Sligo.

At 1 p. m. set out and returned to Castlebar. I had an opportunity this day of seeing the peasantry throughout a considerable tract of country, in their best apparel, it being Sunday; but their appearance differed in no respect from that of those so frequently noticed before. The attempt to describe them is a most painful one, for the picture admits of no relief: — misery fills the foreground, and throws an inexpressible gloom over the whole.*

16th. Had a long ride before breakfast, and afterwards waited on the Rev. Mr. Pasley, local inspector of the gaol, who very kindly accompanied me thither, though he appeared to have other important engagements at the time, and the weather was very disagreeable. The county gaol of Mayo has lately received an addition of a third story, which is much to be regretted, because the original plan was bad, and precludes the possibility of being made good by any alteration short of reconstruction. As, therefore, a new prison is required, and, at no very distant

* Mayo, from its extent, occupies the third place in the rank of counties. The area contains 2539 square miles, with a population of 150 on each square mile: total 350,850, of whom 347,195 are Catholics.

period, it is hoped, will be supplied, the expence of this addition would have contributed a good deal towards defraying that of the new one.

At present classification is defective, and inspection wholly impracticable. Great efforts appear to have been made to employ the prisoners; and the manner in which education has been attended to is very creditable. I was much gratified by looking over the writing of prisoners, several of whom were totally ignorant of the alphabet at the time they were committed. In no part of Ireland have I witnessed so strong an avidity for instruction as among the peasantry of this county; and in no country on the face of the globe, perhaps, do the lower orders give better proofs of ability to receive it. The most astonishing instances of proficiency have been shown within the dismal cells of this prison. The last convicts who were transported hence, petitioned Mr. Pasley to beg of the lord-lieutenant, that the education they had begun in prison might be continued to them in their banishment.

The local inspector devotes a large share of his time to the duties of his office, and discharges them with fidelity. He related to me several cases of Catholic prisoners, who requested him to pray with them just before the awful sentence of the law was carried into execution. Both he and the gaoler mentioned the case of a man of the name of Mitchell, a Catholic, who was hanged not long ago, and whose conduct evinced something very extraordinary. This man, it appears, had requested that Mr. Pasley would give him a copy of the New Testament, with which he immediately complied; but not long afterwards it was forcibly taken from him by the priest. Mitchell applied for another, which was given: this one he retained and perused, in spite of the priest's directions to the contrary.

The priest attended regularly; but this man entreated the devotional assistance of Mr. Pasley, the rector. This statement is given precisely in the terms I received it, and is the only one of the kind that ever came to my knowledge during the whole of my acquaintance with Ireland.

About a quarter of a mile out of town is what is called "the upper-gaol," where females, lunatics, and debtors for very small sums, are confined; and a more incommodious or abominable place never, perhaps, was miscalled "gaol:" there are sixteen lunatics confined here. Near the gaol, in the town, a most elegant and convenient court-house is in progress of building; it is constructed on a most judicious plan, and will form a striking contrast to the two prisons.

The condition of the established clergy here is truly pitiable. The Rev. Mr. Pasley assures me that he can get no tithe, though he offers to take it in any way most convenient to the people, namely, to receive linen, woollen, butter, corn,—or any thing they can give; but it is to no purpose: he has not, for many months, received a single penny; nor has he the least hope of getting any. He thinks the people would pay if they could, but that they have not the means. That they have not the means either of paying tithe, or even of keeping themselves from starving, is most certain; but whether they would pay if they could, is more than questionable.

Mr. Pasley spent a great deal of his time among the peasantry in the country during the summer, and distributed the public charity to many thousands; and the account he gives of their condition is heart-sickening. *He does not think that more than ten died of absolute starvation* in this neighbourhood, but many are reduced almost to skeletons.

With respect to the distribution of the charity here, the poor are far from being satisfied. It is stated that the heads of distressed families had often experienced great difficulty in getting their names included among those to be relieved, while *every individual* of other families was enrolled: it is confidently affirmed that six, seven, and eight persons, have in this way received as much support as the same number of families, who did not happen to be favourites. How far these declarations are entitled to credit I pretend not to decide; one thing, however, is quite certain, that a great many are discontented.

Procured a wretched vehicle called a gig, to convey me to Sligo, whither I set out at two in the afternoon; but the starved animal that drew me soon tired, and I was obliged to take up my abode for the night in a cabin, where a cordial welcome made up for the want of every comfort, and even necessary of life. The country rough and ill-cultivated, the condition of the poor not at all improved.

17th. Commenced my journey again an hour before day-light, and continued to travel at a slow pace, stopping occasionally to feed the poor horse: about two p. m. got into Sligo. Several miles from the town the country begins to improve both in quality and cultivation; but the appearance of the poor is miserable in the greatest degree.* Noticed several pounds both yesterday and to-day nearly filled with cattle. Took a ride before dinner through the country, parts of which present some highly beautiful scenery. A more delightful spot than Hazlewood, the residence of Mr. Wynne, can scarcely be found anywhere.

18th. Had a long ride this morning, and returned at

* Sligo is nineteenth on the list of counties: it contains 727 square miles, has 214¼ persons on the square mile: total population 155,942, of whom 151,610 are reputed Catholics.

nine. From a window in the room where I breakfasted (Nelson Hotel), noticed a female sitting on the battlement of the bridge, and the street filled with mischievous boys and idle persons who had collected, it would appear, for the purpose of teazing her: a respectable looking elderly man was standing near her with a long whip, which he exercised on such as offered to molest her. After witnessing this curious exhibition about half an hour, I stepped out to inquire into the cause, and was informed by the gentleman guardian, that he had not spoken to the female, but from her appearance he supposed her deranged. I asked her what she was doing in that place, to which she replied, "I am waiting for a house to live in, and work in." She stated her name to be Ann Blake; that her relations, who live in the county of Galway, had sent her to Dublin, where she was bled, and had her head blistered, and was nearly starved, and that not liking such treatment, she left them.

From her conversation it was evident that she had been brought up respectably; it is probable, too, that her relations are able to afford those attentions and comforts which strangers might not feel disposed to bestow. She was received and taken care of at the hotel, while I proceeded to the house of one of the magistrates, to acquaint him of the circumstance, that he might direct her to be taken care of. It was before the provost's hour of coming to town, and I was not fortunate enough to find any of the other magistrates at their houses.

Visited the gaol, which is well constructed, and kept in good order; its condition, indeed, does great credit to every one who has any concern in its management. Every part of it is uncommonly clean, and the beds are folded up with a degree of neatness that I never saw anywhere

else. Some classes of prisoners, particularly debtors, are inconvenienced for want of room. There is no infirmary, which is certainly a great defect in a modern prison. It is stated, that none have been sick since this new prison was opened; so fortunate a circumstance is a valuable proof that the respective duties of every department have been faithfully discharged; but it by no means justifies the hope that there never will be any sick, nor can it excuse so great an omission.

The female prisoners derive infinite benefit from the kind attentions of a ladies' committee. The progress of education is most gratifying; religious worship is regular, but the catholic clergy are said to have a great aversion to the Scriptures without any comment, being put into the hands of their followers. The dietary allowance is a pound and half of bread, and a quart of new milk every second day; and fourteen pounds of potatoes, with a quart of new milk every other day alternately.

At 1 p. m. waited on the provost, who immediately gave directions respecting the poor insane girl. Spent the remainder of the evening in walking through the town, and visiting the public buildings, among which the infirmary and fever hospital are the most interesting. "The county of Sligo contains very good land, intermixed with large tracts of coarse and unprofitable ground. Lough Gilly exhibits that variety of charming prospects which bold hills, wooded lawns, and large islands, clothed with verdure and crowned with trees, united with a great extent of water, cannot fail to produce. Upon the river by which the waters of this lake are discharged into a large bay, stands the town of Sligo, and vessels of two hundred tons can come up to the quays." * But a very small pro-

* Dr. Beaufort's Memoir.

portion of this county is under tillage. The same motives which so powerfully urge the farmers in other places to graze, rather than to cultivate their ground, operate here in full force: tithe is an evil dreaded by the farmer more than the mischievous mildew.

19th. At day-light left Sligo for Enniskillen; stopped in Manorhamilton to visit the prison, which has less pretension to that name than any I have yet seen. It is situated partly under and partly over the sessions-house, and consists of three rooms, the lowermost of which being occupied by the gaoler, leaves two upper rooms of a very small size for prisoners of all sorts. There is, in fact, only one room for prisoners, the wall of the other having been broken through some time ago, by persons who endeavoured to escape; it is now locked up, and remains perfectly useless. In the one apartment used, a man and a woman are at present confined.

On the score of convenience I have long thought the gaol at Dungannon as deficient as any in the world; but here is one infinitely more disgusting. This has no surrounding wall, consequently there is no place where a prisoner can get either air or exercise. There is no privy, nor place used as such. When unhappy wretches here confined can no longer resist the calls of nature, they are compelled to apply to the gaoler, who, fixing on his belts, takes up his loaded musket, and has to conduct them one after another to an open field, where he must stand centinel the whole time:—the thing is too barbarous—too revolting to be further described.

It is somewhere mentioned by a writer of celebrity, that a European who had long been travelling among savages, was overjoyed at unexpectedly seeing a man hanging in chains, being then fully assured that he was not far from

civilized society. Analogous to this may be thought the notion, that crowds of beggars are the first good criterion I have had for many days, of the country being in an improved state. It is, however, a fact capable of easy demonstration. The hand of poverty has so completely withered the face of the country through which I have lately passed, that the beggars, were they to remain there, would inevitably starve; hence, they migrate to other districts where the people are better able to support them.

Some distance from Sligo, on an estate which I was informed belongs to Mr. Wynne, there were many poor persons of both sexes, carrying kreels or bundles of grass, which I presently found was to feed cattle impounded for rent. The pound was so crammed, that each owner found it impossible to prevent the cattle of others from devouring the scanty supply he had brought for his own. A decent looking man, a linen dealer, who has passed that way every week for years, declared he never saw that pound empty.

At nine o'clock I visited the prison of the county Fermanagh*, which in every respect so exactly resembles that of Kerry, that a separate description of it would be superfluous. Both were built by the same person on plans nearly similar, and every fault of one is carefully copied in the other. There is no employment. A schoolmaster is provided, at a salary of fifteen pounds a-year, without lodging; the committee very generously add five pounds more; but twenty pounds are not sufficient to support him and a wife with five children. The dietary is, one pound and half of oatmeal, two pounds of potatoes, and a quart of new milk a day. Prisoners in solitary confinement are allowed a loaf.

* In the list of counties Fermanagh ranks the twenty-first, containing 694 square miles, with 220 persons to each square mile; total population being therefore 152,680, of which number 122,144 are Catholics.

the price of which varies from five-pence to sixpence, and a quart of new milk a-day.

Having provided myself with an excellent horse, I left Enniskillen and proceeded to the south-west along the Leitrim mountains, which are absolutely swarming with an infant population.* When Mr. Wakefield visited this part of the country, (which was, I believe, in 1809,) he says all the children were sent to school. Times are wofully changed since then; for now they are running about in a state of nudity, and apparently quite wild. Dined at Ballinamore, and proceeded to Carrick-on-Shannon, where I did not arrive till dark.

20th. Crossed the Shannon, and proceeded through Elphin to Lanesborough.† This day travelled over a large tract of very fine land, of which by far the greater part is appropriated to grazing. The proportion of cultivated ground in the county of Roscommon, relatively to its size and the quantity cultivable is smaller than perhaps in any other county in the kingdom. Lime appears most abundant every where here; dry walls are formed of it for the purpose of enclosing the fields. Noticed small quantities of corn and flax still standing out; the flax appears so short and stunted, that it can scarcely be worth the trouble of manufacturing.

Before taking leave of these provinces, let me entreat the reader's serious attention to a few observations in re-

* In the list of counties Leitrim stands the twenty-fourth. Its area contains 604 square miles, which, at 204¾ souls to the square mile, give a total population of 123,669, of whom 122,231 are Catholics.

† Roscommon stands fourteenth upon the scale of relative dimension among the counties of Ireland. It contains 891 square miles, having on each a population of 269½. The total amounts to 240,125, of whom 237,161 are reckoned as Catholics.

trospect of the miserable country traversed during the last month. The remarks I have to offer are not the offspring of impressions hastily formed, or notions crudely collected. In addition to close personal application, every opportunity was sedulously sought to converse and correspond with persons well acquainted with the causes of Ireland's afflictions. It has fallen to my lot to witness scenes of wretchedness, which can never be effaced "while memory holds her seat." On all I have seen and learned, I have reflected intensely, and my mind is irresistibly drawn to the following conclusions: —

In the first place, then, it appears that a thirteenth of all the land and a tenth of the produce and labour belong to the ministers of the Established Church, many of whom are absentees: three-fourths of the great landed proprietors are also absentees. Hence it is clear, that the greater part of the land and some portion of the labour belong to the people of another country; only a small share being left to supply the exigencies of the state, — support the majority of the inhabitants — and the ministers of their religion, which is not the religion of the state.

Out of such an order of things manifold evils arise. To speak of the gentry collectively, they are few in number compared with those of the same class in England, and possess but little weight or influence in either the country or with the government: and the few who do reside on their estates, are divided by political feuds. Protestant and Catholic interests, made to clash on one side, and a deep sense of degradation on the other, keep alive religious distinctions and animosities, — the fruitful sources of countless miseries.

The condition of the peasantry cannot fail soon to force itself on public attention. Pining under the most poignant

distress, sunk in ignorance and wretchedness; without any means of procuring education, unless it be purchased at the expence of their religious principles, by them esteemed as precious as life itself; ground down by rack-rents, vestry cesses, grand-jury jobs, and the exorbitant demands of tithe proctors, — they unfortunately consider the laws (particularly those that enforce the payment of tithes to a church to which they do not belong) as unjust and oppressive. Against these laws they are evermore breaking out in rebellion, and look upon all as their natural oppressors who lend their aid in support of them, not even excepting the Roman Catholic clergy.

It has been stated that an insurrectionary spirit prevents the introduction of capital; but the truth is, there is neither internal nor external trade to induce a capitalist to settle in the country. These, among others, are some of the great barriers that stand in the way of improvement, and must be removed as a preliminary step towards civilization. The peasantry are willing and anxious to engage in labour, at any wages, however trifling; but labour is unproductive, and, as there are no factories or public works in the country to give them employment, idleness becomes unavoidably habitual to the great bulk of the people, and every day contributes to the pernicious effects of this inveterate evil. Dispossessed of their lands for non-payment of rent, and thrust upon the world, what are the poor to do? Humanity shudders at the alternative, — a choice of evils; — happily they have hitherto embraced that which has least disturbed the public repose.

Several instances have come to my knowledge of landlords or their agents having seized the *entire* corn-crop of their tenants, and removed it into their own farm-yards, which deprives the cottager not only of the corn but also

of the straw, the only fodder for his cattle, which must of course inevitably perish in the winter. It is remarkable that the demands of the tithe proctor are more exorbitant this year than at any former period; to this it may be added, that the poor are almost universally in a state of nudity.

In the evening of this day recrossed the Shannon, and proceeded to Longford. About a mile from Lanesborough is a handsome house belonging to Captain Davys, delightfully situated on the bank of the Shannon. Lime still forms the substratum. I arrived too late at night to visit a new gaol, just finished.

21st. Left Longford at 5 a. m., and proceeded to Edgeworthstown, and thence to Fore*, which is surrounded by beautiful scenery. In the afternoon continued my journey to Granard, county of Longford†, where I arrived a little after seven, having travelled nearly forty miles. Were I to speak from extensive observations of this part of the country made in former years, and what I saw in the course of this day's ride, I would say, that Westmeath is decidedly the best *grazing* county in Ireland; nor do I know any part of England that produces finer sheep or bullocks than many which came under notice to-day. Scanty cultivation, wretched cottages, dirty farm-houses, and crowds of beggars are here contrasted with enchanting scenery, and a most luxuriant soil.

22d. Set out before five this morning, and rode several miles along the river Erne, some parts of which present

* Westmeath ranks twenty-sixth in proportion to its extent, containing 592 square miles, with 264 souls to each, making a total population of 156,288, of whom 151,947 are of the Catholic persuasion.

† Longford is the thirty-first county in Ireland in geographical dimension, having 336 square miles, and 333½ persons to the square mile: its population therefore is 112,056, of whom 101,869, profess the Catholic religion.

fine prospects; but the country is very inferior, both in natural beauty and fertility, to Westmeath. Arrived in Killesandra at 11 A. M., and at 2 P. M. resumed my journey, arriving at six at Bawnboy, a small town situated at the foot of the easternmost extremity of the Leitrim mountains. The country hereabouts has an exceedingly wild appearance, exhibiting large tracts of bog covered with heath. Illicit distillation seems to thrive here better than any thing else; a proof of the singular independence produced by this baneful trade was repeatedly given by the beggars, who presented themselves in almost every direction with their usual importunity, emboldened even to rudeness by intoxication.

23d. Returned to Enniskillen. Unwilling to trespass unnecessarily on the reader's patience, brief extracts only have been given from the notes made during the last four days. It may here be stated that the cabins generally presented a very miserable appearance; that the peasantry are unemployed, and badly clothed.

24th. Having engaged a jaunting-car, I set forward at day-light; breakfasted at Five-mile Town, and at 1 P. M. arrived in Aughnacloy. Passed several droves of fine bullocks to-day on the road, going to be shipped for England. Proceeded across the country to Carrickcolman; a little hamlet mentioned in this journal, the 12th of July.

29th. This is the first day I was in bed after sun-rise since I came to Ireland. Went to Eglish meeting-house this forenoon, and heard an excellent moral discourse delivered by the Rev. Mr. Bell, presbyterian minister. I was fortunate enough in early life to secure this gentleman's friendship: the first rudiments of my grammatical knowledge were acquired under his care: and I shall long retain a grateful sense of his suavity and friendly attention.

He was then in the meridian of life, and now as he descends into the vale of years, his benignant character derives a greater interest from the influence of time, blending wisdom, piety, and charity with the venerable dignity of age. His altered appearance is well calculated to excite reflections; — such was its effect on me. It is no compliment to say, that never on any occasion was I more edified by a sermon.

10th October. As several days have elapsed of which no notice is taken, it may not be superfluous to remark that, during my excursion through Ulster, in June and July, a great many friends had very kindly offered to promote my inquiries, by collecting information on various interesting points, to which I had previously requested their attention; and the last fortnight has been principally spent in riding through Tyrone, Monaghan, Cavan, Armagh, Down, and Antrim, for the purpose of gaining further information on points which still remained doubtful.

11th. Set out this morning by the Belfast coach, and at 7 p. m. arrived in Dublin. On the road, near Castlebellingham, where the coach stopped a few minutes, I accidentally met with an old acquaintance, a gentleman who, six years ago, was in comfortable circumstances. A short sketch of his history may be permitted. Before the termination of the war, he took a farm in the county of Dublin, at six guineas an acre, which was then considered a reasonable rate: for some time he paid the rent easily, and supported his family — a wife and six children — in respectability: but times speedily changed; the rent could not be raised from the produce of the farm: still he went on; he knew the land to be good: he had a little private property on which he drew every year to make up the deficiency of the rent; and delusive hope often whispered, "it is impossible that things can continue long as they are,

next year must surely be better." His crops were always excellent, but during the last five or six years they sold for less than the amount of his rent. The support of his family exhausted the little fortune with which he commenced; — he could stand it no longer. Had he this year gone to the landlord and requested him to take, as an equivalent for his rent, every thing the ground had produced, both cattle and crop, — and never was there a finer produce, — leaving his labour and the expence of cultivation out of consideration, he (the tenant) would have saved nearly a hundred pounds! This case does not stand supported by his own declaration alone, and his word is unimpeachable; I know myself the merits of it, and can vouch for its correctness: there are thousands similar to it in every respect. What a melancholy reflection that the combined powers of prudence, experienced skill, and unwearied industry, cannot shield an amiable family from such undeserved calamity!

12th. Went to the packet-office, engaged a passage in the steam-packet *Mountaineer*, and employed the interval till her sailing in viewing the city of Dublin and its environs. In the course of this excursion I sauntered over the hill of Killiney, an elevated granitic range, which forms the north-eastern termination of the Dublin mountains, and from which a stranger is presented with a choice of admirable prospects, whether he prefer the sublime or beautiful, or the combination of both.

Eastward, the eye embraces Killiney Bay, lying within the bosom of the hill just mentioned, — the little town of Bray upon the shore, with the *Sugar-loaf* beyond, the tapering elevation of which forms a pleasing *unique* among the irregular group of the Wicklow mountains. Turning round, the grandeur of the scene spreads in boundless association

of beautiful objects, uniting the charms of nature with those elegancies and comforts of life, which result from commercial wealth and civilization. At your foot, the island and little town of Dalkey, with the busy scene of the quarries for supplying the works at the new harbour of Kingstown, formerly Dunleary *, which gives the idea of full security to the shipping in the bay, some at anchor, others moving into port, or passing outwards to their various destinations. Beyond the bay the promontory of Howth, over the neck of which are seen the cultivated hills of Louth, terminated by the irregular sky-line of the mountains of Mourne. Turning again towards the west, the city spreads her smoking extent over many a mile, diversified with steeples, squares, monuments, and other architectural beauties, — the rich plains of Kildare in the distance; — the whole constituting, perhaps, one of the most magnificent views in the world. The picture becomes finished with the space between the city and the observer, luxuriantly cultivated, and thickly set with innumerable country seats, rivalling each other in taste and decoration, whilst the huge mass of granite, called the Dublin Mountains, shelters these charming retreats of civic opulence from the rude visitation of the southerly storms. This variously-chequered, grand, and delightful scene, cannot fail to fill the mind with the most pleasing images, notwithstanding the miseries that brood upon the land.

* This great work, I am informed, owes its existence chiefly to the persevering exertions of Mr. Bernard O'Reilly, — and a splendid monument it is of unrequited industry.

It would scarcely be imagined by any one who has not tried the experiment, how difficult it is to ascertain the population of Ireland. There exists amongst the peasantry an unconquerable aversion to tell the exact number of which their families consist, and in nine cases out of ten they will represent it under the truth. On what ground this prejudice rests I am not able to explain; but I had ample experience of the fact. I am indebted to relations and respected friends, who gave up much of their time to collect information, from which the following table is principally formed; and after all the attention that has been given to the subject, it is feared the statement is far from correct. Had I trusted entirely to my own observation, the result would have been considerably greater. I am quite certain that the view here given is much below what it should be; indeed I had many opportunities of proving it; but deference for those who kindly interested themselves in the inquiry, and whose local knowledge should give weight to their opinion, has induced me to adopt their calculations. It will be observed that the counties are not arranged in their provincial order, but according to their geographical dimensions; — the area of each in square miles is taken from the work of Mr. Wakefield.

Table of the Total and Comparative Population of IRELAND, *up to the end of the Year* 1822.

No.	Name.	Sq. miles.	Houses on 1 sq. mile.	Souls to 1 House.	Total Souls on 1 sq. mile.	Total number of Houses.	Total number of Souls.	Proportion of Catholics to others.	Total No. of Catholics.	Total No. of other Religions.
1	Cork County	2,990	47	5½	258½	140,530	772,915	20 to 1	736,110	36,805
	—— City ...	—	—	10	—	12,297	122,970	5 — 1	102,475	20,495
2	Galway Co ...	2,598	25	5½	137½	64,825	356,537	65 — 1	351,135	5,402
	—— Town	—	—	8½	—	4,375	37,187*	20 — 1	35,416	1,771
3	Mayo	2,339	30	5	150	70,170	350,850	95 — 1	347,195	3,655
4	Kerry	1,763	26	5½	143	45,838	252,109	95 — 1	249,483	2,626
5	Donegal	1,725	32	5¼	168	55,200	289,800	6 — 1	248,400	41,400
6	Tipperary ...	1,591	44	5½	242	70,064	385,022	12 — 1	355,405	29,617
7	Tyrone	1,271	43	5½	236½	54,653	300,592	6 — 1	257,650	42,942
8	Clare	1,125	37	5¾	212¾	41,625	239,344	80 — 1	236,387	2,955
9	Limerick Co.	1,045	41	5¾	235¾	42,845	246,359	60 — 1	242,320	4,039
	——— City	—	—	11	—	8,397	92,367	9 — 1	83,131	9,236
10	Antrim	1,018	47	5¾	270¼	47,846	275,114	4 — 5	122,273	152,841
	Carrickfergus	—	—	6½	—	1,500	9,750	1 — 3	2,437	7,313
11	Meath	965	39	5¾	224¼	37,635	216,401	40 — 1	211,123	5,278
12	Down	936	61	6	366	57,096	342,576	4 — 5	152,256	190,320
13	Wexford	934	39	5½	214½	36,426	200,343	10 — 1	182,130	18,213
14	Roscommon	891	49	5½	269½	43,659	240,125	80 — 1	237,161	2,964
15	Londonderry	837	42	5¾	241½	35,154	202,135	3 — 2	121,281	80,854
16	Wicklow.....	781	28	6	168	21,868	131,208	9 — 1	118,087	13,121
17	Kilkenny Co.	773	40	5¾	230	30,920	177,790	25 — 1	170,952	6,838
	———City	—	—	6½	—	4,438	28,847	12 — 1	26,628	2,219
18	Cavan	758	50	6	300	37,900	227,400	5 — 1	189,500	37,900
19	Sligo	727	39	5½	214¼	28,353	155,942	35 — 1	151,610	4,332
20	Waterford Co.	710	38	5¾	218½	26,980	155,135	80 — 1	153,220	1,915
	———City	—	—	8	—	4,177	33,416	11 — 1	30,632	2,784
21	Fermanagh...	694	40	5½	220	27,760	152,680	4 — 1	122,144	30,536
22	King's Co....	661	43	5½	236½	28,423	156,326	9 — 1	140,693	15,633
23	Kildare	619	35	5¾	201¼	21,665	124,574	30 — 1	120,555	4,019
24	Leitrim	604	39	5¼	204¾	23,556	123,669	85 — 1	122,231	1,438
25	Queen's Co..	602	44	5½	253	26,488	152,306	11 — 1	139,614	12,692
26	Westmeath ...	592	48	5½	264	28,416	156,288	35 — 1	151,947	4,341
27	Monaghan ...	509	69	6	414	35,121	210,726	7 — 1	184,385	26,341
28	Armagh	451	78	6	468	35,178	211,068	2 — 1	140,712	70,356
29	Dublin Co...	388	64	7	448	24,832	173,824	8 — 1	154,510	19,314
	——— City..	—	—	13	—	16,325	212,225	4 — 1	169,780	42,445
30	Carlow	346	46	5¾	264½	15,916	91,517	9 — 1	82,365	9,152
31	Longford ...	336	58	5¾	333½	19,488	112,056	10 — 1	101,869	10,187
32	Louth	329	59	5¾	339¼	19,411	111,613	20 — 1	106,298	5,315
	Drogheda T.	—	—	7	—	3,500	24,500	5 — 1	20,417	4,083
	Total						7,855,606		6,871,919	983,687

* Mr. Hardiman, in his History of Galway, page 192. says, "The return of the inhabitants of the town and liberties, under the census act

of 1812, amounted only to 24,484; but those to whom the enumeration was entrusted were, according to their own subsequent accusations of each other, guilty of *gross neglect and omission* in the execution of that duty. The general and most probable opinion is, that the population amounts at present (1820) to 40,000, which comprehends a vast number of daily increasing poor, without trade, manufactures, or adequate employment." In 1814, before a committee of the House of Commons, the population of Galway was stated to be 50,000. I regret to say, that the charge of " gross neglect and omission," set forth in the preceding note, is fully borne out by my own observations in a great many parts of the country. Desirous of having some conversation with the " enumerators," I made many inquiries about them, but did not happen to pass through a district where any one appeared to know or even to have heard any thing at all of such persons.

PART III.

REFLECTIONS ON THE FOREGOING MATTERS.

The state of Ireland is an anomaly among nations. Although possessing almost every requisite for making a nation prosperous and happy, still the people are poor though industrious; discontented amidst abundant natural advantages; starving, though surrounded by plenty; and, whilst other nations are progressing in the arts and blessings of civilization, this alone seems to retrograde in every useful improvement.

The question — to what causes is owing such an unnatural state of things? irresistibly forces itself on the thinking mind, and urges to investigation. To this most important question it must be answered, — the causes are manifold; most of them, however, may be marshalled under certain general heads; — the avarice of landlords, — the unwise system of tithe exactions, — the want of employment and education, — political disability and political monopoly: these are among the most prominently mischievous.

That these are the principal and proximate causes of all the miseries under which Ireland has long groaned, and that they tend to perpetuate her degradation and augment her suffering, is unequivocally proved by the concurring testimony of history and the experience of ages. It is an axiom both in physics and metaphysics, that a cause must be removed before its effects can cease: — if, therefore, it be intended or wished that the genial beams of prosperity

shall ever illumine the darkened horizon of that ill-fated country, it is high time that something should be done. Deserted by most of her opulent sons, who should be her natural protectors, she has lately experienced the generosity of Englishmen; — she is grateful for their *bounty*, but she still supplicates their *justice*. Any alleviation of her afflictions will now be thankfully received as a boon; but if long delayed, it may not be offered or received with so good a grace.

In the first portion of this volume, the brief history of the country exhibits the various revolutions the property of the soil has undergone: compact, intrigue, open violence, or collusive composition transferred the dominion of the country to the crown of England, and by a natural consequence it reverted back to the persons who brought such an acquisition to the state. The evils arising from such flagrant acts of dishonesty must now be patiently endured; to repair the mischiefs produced by the operation of unjust and cruel enactments, would be found a difficult task. It is not requisite to go back and recal the misdeeds of former days; time and use have set a seal upon landed property of every kind, which no human effort should now have power to remove; but the eternity of justice has left open a door to possessions which monopoly should not be suffered to close, — property arising from industry and talent. These should be secured and hallowed to the possessor: — rights thus guaranteed will be precious, sanctified, and invaluable, — worth a million times the same amount extorted from his fears or wrongs.

SECTION I.

LANDLORDS.

The enormous population of Ireland is divisible and divided into two classes, the rich and the poor, or gentry and peasantry — lord and beggar. There is no middle class, no connecting link, nothing like yeomanry. Each class either is, or conceives itself to be, perfectly distinct from the other, and the imaginary distance between them is immeasurable.

The tenures are too highly rated, and too severely taxed for equal industry or the legitimate efforts of labour, ever to keep society upon a regular scale of gradation. Nothing can be more injudicious or impolitic than letting lands at a rent greatly above their value; a general practice in Ireland, with very few exceptions. The practice indeed often involves an inconsistency so absurd as to be wholly irreconcilable to any rational principle.

I had myself an opportunity, this last summer, of seeing landlords advertising for proposals, and endeavouring to excite emulation among farmers to *promise* a rent, which they must have known it was physically impossible to raise from the ground. I had also an opportunity of perusing notes written by three gentlemen of this exalted class, to tenants on whom they were desirous of conferring *obligations* of this ruinous nature.

One of those landlords was offered thirty-eight shillings an acre by a farmer whose opulence and respectability were certain pledges for the rent, for some years at least; but the offer was rejected, and the land let at two pounds five

shillings and six-pence to an adventurer, who, it was generally believed, neither could or would ever pay a farthing. A year's credit was held out as an inducement, so that eighteen months must elapse before any rent can be demanded; and by that time it is more than probable, the unceremonious exit of the tenant will have discharged every obligation. Many well authenticated instances of this description have come to my knowledge; but the limits of this work forbid their insertion.

Agricultural labour falls very unequally upon the people. Few of those persons who hold leases for lives, or a limited term of years, are above the necessity of personal toil: this industrious class is more or less engaged in the various branches of tillage, and seldom knows remission much beyond the labouring peasant; persons of this class constitute in fact a part of the peasantry. It is out of the cares and hardly-earned profits of these men that most of the exigencies of the state are supplied.

Political speculators, in parcelling out *forty shilling freeholds*, have entailed on the community an evil that justly merits universal reprobation. Many a landlord found a richer harvest in the electioneering market than he had formerly known in the agricultural; he granted new leases bearing the stamp of freedom, but their owners still wear the badge of slavery; and, as in former ages the follower rose or fell with the fortunes of his desperate chieftain, so he now must sink or swim with the pettifogging proprietor.

The cotter is below that point where the agitations arising from political squabbles can reach him; but he is not beyond the grasp of poverty, or an iron gripe much more deadly, that of sordid, unfeeling avarice. So long as this deluded sufferer can labour, he is allowed to work; but how is he repaid? In the progress of the pages that

my journal contains, the reader may have seen the luxury of his life. Rack-rents, scanty wages, ragged children, and privileged penury, distinguish his lot. Can it be matter of wonder then, that feelings inseparable from humanity should rouse him to reflection? Although uneducated, does he not feel? Nature has been to him a too bounteous parent, and either kindly or cruelly nursed his sensibilities. Is it his fault that those sensibilities were not turned to a useful account?

If the Irish peasant be treated even with ordinary kindness, his gratitude knows no bounds; but it is his misfortune that few opportunities have been given him for the exercise of this noble sentiment. Too long has his passive obedience been rewarded with contumelious cruelty. Hear the opinion of a liberal and enlightened Englishman on this head.

"The poor are much neglected by the richer classes in this district; and I have been informed of many, and have seen some glaring instances, of the tyranny and oppression to which they are subjected: I shall mention one. In the month of June, 1809, at the races of Carlow, I saw a poor man's cheek laid open by a stroke of a whip. He was standing in the midst of a crowd near the winning-post: the inhuman wretch who inflicted the wound, was a gentleman of some rank in the county, but his name, for many reasons, I shall not mention. The unhappy sufferer was standing in his way, and, without requesting him to move, struck him with less ceremony than an English country squire would a dog. But what astonished me even more than the deed, and, which shews the difference between English and Irish feeling, was, that not a murmur was heard, not hand raised in disapprobation; but the surrounding spectators dispersed, running different ways,

like slaves terrified at the rod of their despot. I observed to a gentleman with whom I was in company, how different a feeling would have actuated the populace in England. There, no man who lifts his hand unjustly is sheltered by his rank. The by-standers are always ready to espouse the cause of the injured, and would themselves inflict summary punishment, even on a nobleman who should violate the laws of his country by such an aggression. 'What!' replied my friend, 'would a man there dare to strike his superior?'—'Yes, and on his own estate, and in the midst of his tenantry. Well, but twenty magistrates of the county of Carlow are present. Will they not interpose, and redress this man?' 'Oh! no, they will get into no quarrel with ———.' The conversation dropped, and I never felt so proud in being an Englishman; the subject of a country where no man's poverty precludes him from finding an advocate—where every instance of cruelty excites the noblest feelings of the heart; and where the law affords the same protection to the poor as to the rich."*

It would be painful to multiply facts of a nature so disgusting; if more were wanting, the testimony of the late Lord Clare might be adduced. When Ireland could boast of a parliament, such as it was, this distinguished Irishman stated in the House of Commons, that, "he was well acquainted with Munster, and that it was impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the peasantry of that province; *the unhappy peasantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords*; that, far from being able to give the clergy their just dues, they had not food or raiment for themselves; the landlord grasped the whole: and, sorry was he to add, that not satisfied with the present extortion,

* Wakefield's Account of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 773.

some landlords had been so base as to instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tithe, not in order to alleviate the distress of their tenantry, but that they might add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid: *the poor people of Munster lived in a more abject state of poverty than human nature could be supposed equal to bear.*"

These intolerable grievances appear at length to be drawing to a crisis; such heartless treatment will not be endured much longer. Tenants, finding it impossible to make up enormous rack-rents, seem disposed to retaliate on their oppressors, and will not pay even what they can afford. As they are certain of being ejected for non-payment, they think "it is as well not to be turned out empty handed;" and in many cases the landlord can get nothing. It is not desirable for either party that things should continue in this state: one or other must concede. The peasant knows too well that any change must improve *his* condition, for nothing can make it worse;—the proprietor has most at stake.

The inconvenience hence resulting to landlords must be severely felt; it has long been felt; and some of them have tried to avert it by means neither creditable nor wise. In many districts where rents cannot be raised by the ordinary modes of industry, the immense profits arising from illicit distillation are often employed to make up the deficiency; and this demoralizing trade is not only connived at, but encouraged,—nay, cherished, by men whose station in life should place them above suspicion. Let not these observations be construed into invidious or idle declamation: I am acquainted with the facts, and provided with the proofs. I know a landed proprietor of first-rate consequence, who keeps on his estate an officer of excise, by way of screen to the tenants, who are not slow in availing themselves of

such an opportunity. This *honest* guager *goes snacks* with every one; throws the threadbare mantle of the law over every one; and the concern appears fully to meet the views of every one.

There are landlords of another kind, to whom, at present, I shall direct attention; these are such as reside out of the country,—"everlasting absentees,"—a colossal body who lay claim to more than three-fourths of all the land in the kingdom. Any argument in support of the assertion, that a resident gentry exerting their influence to promote industry, and encourage the diffusion of moral and religious principles in their neighbourhood, are beneficial to a country, would surely be thought an idle waste of words and time;—the fact is self-evident. The converse of the proposition appears also to hold with equal force; namely, that as a country is benefited by landlords residing on their property, and faithfully discharging their relative duties, so, in the same proportion, must that country be injured by those persons deserting it, and of consequence neglecting to perform what they owe to its welfare. The foregoing journal affords evidence just sufficient to corroborate the one, and a thousand times more than enough to demonstrate the other.

Mr. Wakefield, to whose valuable work I have often referred, has treated this subject in a manner so able and correct, that to do it justice I must use his own forcible words. At page 290, volume the first, he says, "The duties of landlords and tenants are certainly reciprocal; a man of probity will therefore consider himself bound by every tie of justice and honour to watch over the interest of those who toil, on his account as well as their own, and without whom his land would be useless and unproductive."

The same judicious writer observes at page 30: "Did

proprietors reside on their estates, at least some part of the year, and employ their thoughts on the improvement of them, they would become better acquainted with the disposition of their tenants; the latter would feel more attachment to their landlords; the money their landlords spent among them would enliven their industry; and they would be encouraged to labour by the presence and kind attention of those to whom they ought naturally to look up as their friends and benefactors. If proprietors, *consulting the interests of their tenants, which is invariably connected with their own and with that of the state*, set them a good example, it would serve them as a guide; and their influence, properly exerted, might restrain them from vicious habits and pursuits. Thus the irregularities which are apt to prevail among a populace, rendered ferocious through want of culture, and become licentious by neglect, would be more easily curbed; the latent sparks of moral good suppressed, but not extinguished, would readily be called into action: a spirit more congenial to that exalted state of society for which man was intended, would be diffused; and districts of Ireland, which now exhibit an appearance of desolation, would become prosperous, happy, and cheerful.

Every one, whose heart is not dead to the impulses of humanity, must deplore the sanguinary outrages which every now and then throw a still darker shade over that devoted country. Has the moral or political philosopher ever attempted to develope the causes of such barbarism, or to trace them to their source? Yes, truly; Ireland was lately blessed with a chief secretary who studied her history, and is thoroughly acquainted with her wrongs. This enlightened statesman had the magnanimity to acknowledge, that, "*There are, undoubtedly, in her history*

deep-seated causes for discontent and disturbance. Never (said this profound politician) *had a great nation been ill-treated with impunity! if great principles are sacrificed to gain a temporary end, safety may be obtained for the moment,* BUT THE HOUR OF RETRIBUTION WILL SURELY ARRIVE."

SECTION II.

TITHE.

It has been attempted to trace the origin of tithe back to very ancient times — to the Jews, with a view it would seem, to establish a divine authority in support of its right; but the sanction of antiquity, even were such to be the case, cannot justify the continuance of a custom which is at variance with the best notions of human right. The tithe-dues of modern times are, moreover, essentially different from those ordained by the law of Moses. In the division of lands among the Jewish tribes, the Levites, having been expressly appointed to the priesthood, in order that they should be exempt from the duties of war and all secular cares, gave their portion in common among their brethren, and received in return the *tithe*, the division of which stood thus: — the priests had one-tenth, that is, a hundredth part of the allotment, and the remaining nine-tenths were reserved for "the rest of the Levites, and for the poor, the stranger, the widow, the orphan, and the temple."

Tithes, however, under the Christian dispensation, were not instituted in any decided way till the fifth century: previous to that period the example of the apostles and the primitive pastors of the church proves that no such

custom prevailed. In Ireland, particularly, it continued to be unknown for several centuries after the introduction of the gospel, as is shown in the first part of this volume, in the instance of Malachias, bishop of Armagh, whose life was fashioned after the manner of the apostles, an excellent subject for imitation, both then and since. Even at the period when tithes were first allowed by common consent, and before their payment became enforced by law, their appropriation, as may be seen by referring to the place just mentioned, arose originally from a charitable intention on the part of the donors, and was received by the clergy in a spirit, at least, of disinterestedness.

The precept "that they who preach the gospel should live by the gospel," was received as an ordinance which piety made positively binding on the conscience, and hence this provision was granted in a manner so generous as to border on prodigality; but those were times, it should be observed, when a sense of religious obligation was peculiarly strong upon the minds of men — strong rather than just — for those were times when a pope could undertake to give away kingdoms; the tithe thus liberally bestowed was made subject to an equally positive charge — the maintenance of the poor. On this point Mr. Grattan once argued with peculiar force.

"I am not now inquiring," said he, "whether the claim to the full tithe is legal, but whether the application of that tithe, for the sole purpose of supporting the priest, is usurpation. And I have shown you, that tithe was a charity subject to the support of the poor in the first place, and the priest in the last. I have often shown you that tithe does not stand on the delicate ground of private property. I have shown you that it was a trust, converted into a property by abuse; which abuse the legislature may con-

trol, without sacrilege or robbery. If a right to the full tenth is yet insisted on, give them the full tenth, on the principles on which alone they first ventured to demand it —*subject to a poor-rate*. Let the trust be executed — let widows and orphans share it, — let the house of industry, and the various hospitals, and infirmary share it. Let the house of God — now a hovel repaired at the expence of parliament, though, by the canon law, it should be repaired by the priesthood — share it: — let the poorer order of the *peasantry* share it. If the clergy will insist on taking the full tithe of his potatoes — if they take the staff out of his hands — they must carry the peasant on their shoulders."

"Of all institutions," says Paley, "adverse to cultivation and improvement, *none is so noxious as that of tithe*. A claimant here enters into the produce, who contributed no assistance whatever to the production. When years, perhaps, of care and toil have matured an improvement — when the husbandman sees new crops ripening to his skill and industry — the moment he is ready to put his sickle to the grain, he finds himself compelled to divide the harvest with a stranger. Tithes are a tax not only upon industry, but upon that industry which feeds mankind — upon that species of exertion which it is the object of all laws to cherish and promote."

The ecclesiastical establishment in Ireland is much richer in proportion than that of England. In Ireland, besides twenty-two archbishops and bishops, who enjoy an enormous revenue out of lands attached to their several sees, there are twelve hundred benefices, the possessors of which derive large livings from tithes, besides the advantage of glebe lands belonging to those benefices. It is a small living which is estimated under five hundred a-year. Of the beneficed clergy more than one-third are not resident

upon their livings — many out of the country; and to these benefices, containing numerically 2500 parishes, there are only 1000 churches standing, if those be excepted which are now in progress of being erected; it is therefore a consequence, that some of the incumbents have no churches to attend for the tithes they receive.

Many of the churches, moreover, now in being, are little frequented, especially in the south and west of Ireland; in many others divine service is scarcely ever performed for want of hearers, and several of the incumbents have neither churches nor hearers at all. Thus, between clerical absenteeship, inactive incumbency, want of churches, and a dearth of congregations, it must not excite surprise that dissatisfaction should so generally prevail against a system which requires so vast a revenue for apparently little immediate or obvious use.

What would be the reply, if the established preachers of the gospel were asked, where are the fruits of their "preaching?" — How many will answer affirmatively to the discharge of that duty prescribed by the 28 Henry VIII., by which every clergyman on induction swears, "that he will teach or cause to be taught one school within his vicarage, or rectory, as the law in that case requires." These schools are not in existence; and in defiance of that requisition the people are still ignorant, because uninstructed, although they pay so hugely for what they do not receive.

The education of the peasantry would add more to the civilization of even the wildest district in Ireland, than "putting steeples to all the new churches" could do; and decorating the mind with useful information, and humanizing the hearts of the peasantry with a good system of moral instruction, would effect more permanent advantage to the

country than all the "ornamental spires" which architectural ingenuity ever could devise.

But the tithe system not only leaves the peasant without instruction — it deprives him of that property with which he might find means to educate himself. Then, let him not, at least, be taxed with ignorance, — taxed with tithe, — loaded with poverty, and insulted for bearing such a load. Spiritual instruction, then: — is that afforded in lieu of such a "noxious institution?" When the protestant dissenters are counted off along with the Catholics from the population of the country, the millions who pay tithe and do not receive spiritual instruction in return, will appear amazing, compared with the *handful* who form the flock of the established pastors.

"If," says the judicious and pious Paley, "you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn; and if (instead of each picking where and what it liked, taking just as much as it wanted, and no more) you should see ninety-nine gathering all they got into a heap; reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and the refuse: keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest perhaps, and worst pigeon of the flock; sitting round and looking on all the winter, whilst this one was devouring, throwing about, and wasting it; and if a pigeon, more hardy or hungry than the rest, touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it, and tearing it to pieces: if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day practised and established among men. Among men, you see the ninety and nine toiling and scraping together a heap of superfluities for one; getting nothing for themselves all the while, but a little of the coarsest of the provision which their own labour produces (and this one, too, oftentimes the feeblest and worst of the whole set, — a child, a woman,

a madman or a fool) looking quietly on, while they see the fruits of all their labour spent or spoiled; and if one of them take or touch a particle of it, the others join against him, and hang him for the theft." *

With regard to the payment of tithe in Ireland, all denominations of the people are unanimous in deprecating it, not on the principles of injustice alone, but of inexpediency. The feeling which exists in this respect, is not that silent sense of dissatisfaction which would imply a passiveness in payment, accompanied with unwillingness; it is one of a more deep-rooted and resentful character, such as ever attends the abstraction of property against the owner's consent. However established by time, custom, or legislative sanction, it still is felt as an oppression, and serves to keep alive discontent, and an earnest desire to get rid of it altogether.

In the historical portion of this book, it will be seen, that an endeavour was successfully made in the year 1734, to throw off the burden of tithe to a certain extent, by a resolution of the Irish house of commons, which has since become a formal act of the imperial parliament. Of that memorable transaction Primate Boulter thus makes mention in one of his letters: "Associations were entered into by most of the lay lords and commoners, to join against agistment; and the like associations were sent down to most counties against the assizes, and signed in most, though refused in some, and *a common purse was raised in each county to support any one there that should be sued for agistment*; — there was a rage stirred up against the clergy that equalled any thing that had been seen against the popish priests in the most dangerous times, though the

* Moral Philosophy. Lond. Ed. 1821. p. 68.

clergy behaved themselves with a temper that surprised their enemies."

These "*enemies*" were the great landed proprietors, and graziers connected with them in a community of interest and feeling, who, by their overwhelming influence in the proceedings of parliament, and throughout the country, effectually gained their object, whence the most wealthy and powerful are in a great measure relieved of the burden which by that resolution was heaved upon the shoulders of the poor. The consequence was direct, — the opulent became easy, the necessitous discontented. This must be obvious, because, by that proceeding tithes fell exclusively on tillage land, the greater part of which is held by small farmers, or cotter tenants.

In its very principle this agistment measure is iniquitous, not only to the clergy, but the husbandman; on the latter it is particularly so, for it visits the poor, and passes by the rich man's door: it is also mischievous, as producing a partial severity; and it is impolitic from its tendency to depress agricultural industry. While the rich are left comparatively free from this impost, it follows that the poor must supply the deficiency created by the exemption from agistment-tithe; and the labour of the peasant has to make up to the clergy for the inactivity of the patrician, who thus exacts a double result from the lease by which the tenant is fastened to the soil — he gets his rent, and exemption from a tax which he would otherwise have to pay, were he to cultivate the land.

But the conspiracy of the rich in evading the payment of tithe of agistment, not only fixed the burden upon that class which was least able to bear it, but upon persons who, in strict justice, had no apparent right whatever to contribute to the payment. At the time of the surrender

of Limerick, the claims of the established clergy were finally secured from the doubt and uncertainty that had all along attended their existence in Ireland: it was then that all the benefices were thrown into the hands of the protestant rectors, and by that means the whole church establishment came exclusively to the present possessors, although it is now well known that one-half of that establishment, and one half the civil and military offices of the kingdom had been offered to the Catholics by William the Third.

At that period, as at present, the Catholics formed the majority of the population; and their circumstances have been not unaptly compared to those of the Canadians at a later period. Why the parallel should not be perfect is not here a question. The right of tithe is not an object of contention; its impolicy alone, as it affects the employment of the poor, is a grievance which all lament, and for the removal of which all are equally anxious. Of the poor, the greater portion is of a religion which derives no share of attention from those who by law are entitled to receive tithe; and it is this circumstance which brings the case of the poor of Ireland more directly in parallel with the people of Canada. Mr. Weld, speaking of that extensive portion of the British dominion, says:

"Every religion is tolerated, in the fullest extent of the word, and no disqualifications are imposed on any persons on account of their religious opinions. The Roman Catholic religion is that of the great majority of the inhabitants, and by the Quebec Bill of 1774, the ecclesiastics of that persuasion are empowered by law to recover all the dues which, previous to that period, they were accustomed to receive, as well as tithes, that is, from the Roman Catholic inhabitants; *but they cannot exact any tithes or dues*

from Protestants, or off lands held by Protestants, although formerly such lands might have been subjected to dues and tithes, for the support of the Roman Catholic church. The dues and tithes from off these lands are still, however, to be paid; but they are to be paid to persons appointed by the governor, and the amount afterwards to be received into the hands of his Majesty's receiver-general, for the support of the Protestant clergy *actually residing in the province.*"

In Ireland the case is very widely different from that just stated, in a just comparison of circumstances. The majority have to pay an enormous impost without the shadow of an equivalent, and the Catholic is not the only one who endures the hardship; the dissenter has the same subject of complaint, but he is not equally passive: — in this regard the testimony of an excellent writer may be received in argument. Mr. Wakefield thus compares the manner in which tithe charge is met in Ireland by two classes of persons, very distinct in religious principle, remote also in point of situation, and thence, it may be supposed, different in other circumstances generally, but both bearing this common burden.

" It may perhaps be objected, (says he,) that I have contemplated the subject in an improper light; that the irregularities to which I allude, do not arise from the causes to which I ascribe them, but to the unfortunate differences in religion. That the Catholic labourer is averse to pay the Protestant clergyman, from whom he derives no benefit; while, at the same time, he is obliged to provide a spiritual instructor for himself, may be readily believed; but this dislike of remuneration is not confined to the Catholics. Does the Presbyterian of the North pay the tithe readily and with a good will? He does not;

indeed break out into open rebellion; but the clergyman finds it more difficult to obtain payment from him, than from the unsuspecting Catholic of the South. My inquiries have been most particular on this subject, and I can speak with confidence. I know the difference that exists between the professors of the two religions. A remorseless proctor, who is not afraid to wring the last farthing from a Southern parish, will not undertake to encounter one in the North. He is fearless of ignorance, with all its attendant tumults and wild insurrections; but knowledge, which Lord Bacon defines to be power, he dare not attack. The Presbyterian combats him with his own weapons, and law is as expensive to the clergyman as to his parishioners: but to the former it is more ruinous, his purse being unable to hold out against the united contributions of his parishioners. From this cause I have heard complaints made against a Presbyterian parish; but, in a Catholic one, the tithe may be easily obtained, together with every expence. The law, therefore, is a shield merely in name, and a benefit only to those who have the inclination and *property* to employ it." *

From this sketch the assertion is borne out, that all classes of the community are averse to the payment of tithe. When the wealthy Protestants gave a death-blow to the question of tithe in one of its most valuable members, their combination was not declared illegal, although meant to put down all opposing law; but when the miserable peasantry met to complain of a similar grievance, *their* combination was made rebellious, and punished as treason against the state. Out of this dissimilar result, from the same ground of complaint, have grown almost all the

* Vol. ii. p. 493.

troubles that have agitated the South of Ireland for so many years, and which gave an intelligent and philosophical observer of the great powers that may be wielded for political purposes, an opportunity of making one of the most pithy remarks connected with the conspiracy of 1796. When Dr. M'Nevin was questioned before the secret committee respecting the affair of tithes, as viewed by the United Executive, he answered: "If the stability of the established church depends on the payment of tithes, the church stands on a *weaker* foundation than in civility I would have said of it; but of this I am *sure*, — that if tithes had been commuted, according to Mr. Grattan's plan, *a very powerful engine would have been taken out of our hands.*"

Tithe has in its train many evils which deeply affect the interests, both of the clergy and people. The demand is in itself odious from its injustice; and this is so obvious, that, in order to avoid the personal pique and annoyance which is almost sure to arise in the collection, the disagreeable duty is commonly transferred to a valuator or proctor, who becomes thereby empowered to institute an expensive process in the name of the incumbent; and the character of this agent, who is usually of the lowest class, and, perhaps, notorious for crooked scheming and unblushing villany, not unfrequently communicates its taint to his employer. Hence a new source of misery to the people, and of hatred to the system; for the sins of the servant are in most instances placed to the account of the master, whilst execration is unsparingly dealt out in return for oppression.

In a worse situation, if possible, stands the concern when tithes are let to farm. The multiplied mischiefs which this practice produces are finely depicted in the immortal elo-

quence of Grattan: "From a situation so ungracious, from the disgrace and loss of making in his own person a little bargain with squires, farmers, and peasants, of each and every description, and, from non-residence, the parson is obliged to take refuge in the assistance of a character, by name a tithe-farmer, and by profession an extortioner; this extortioner becomes part of the establishment of the church by interest and situation. There are two descriptions of men he is sure to defraud; the one is the parson, the other the people. He collects sometimes at *fifty per cent.*; he gives the clergyman less than he ought to receive, and takes from the peasants more than they ought to pay; he is not an agent who is to collect a certain rent; he is an adventurer, who gives a certain rate for the privilege of making a bad use of an unsettled claim — this claim *over* the powers of collection; and what is teazing or provoking in the law is, in his hands, an instrument not of justice but of usury. He sometimes sets the tithes to a second tithe-farmer, so that the land becomes a prey to a subordination of vultures."

Every one who loves the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the country, feels laudably anxious to see an end put to all those evils; to leave industry free enjoyment of its fair results, and, above all, to remove those afflictions which press so heavily on the labouring classes. No liberal mind surely can longer wish the poor man to pay a tenth of that little treasure, his potatoe garden, the fruit of his midnight toil, devoted to the preservation of his children, when he has returned from his daily task; — that for which he exposes himself and family to disease with all its dismal consequences, by hoarding, nay, cherishing the annual gathering of dunghill at his door, to raise the expensive but indispensable crop. Nor can there be one, it is hoped, so unkindly

hearted as to wish the cottager's cow to be driven away to the *cant*, from his fond and lamenting little ones, without an earnest desire and cordial co-operation to prevent such a disaster. Even these, being removed, would give happiness to hundreds of thousands.

But whilst a beneficial change thus introduced, would continue to be extended to the agricultural classes generally — as it ought, due and solemn care should be taken, that one injustice is not removed by the substitution of another. If the peasant be relieved, let not the pastor be impoverished. Too many are the distresses of the reverend body, not to feel even more than commiseration for their embarrassments. In many places, the clergy cannot get a single farthing of their claim. It is not sufficient that a provision for them is secured by law, when not even by law, with all its annoyance and expence, can it be obtained. In cases not a few, the proctor or tithe-farmer contrives to gain as much as, or more than, the parson, and not unfrequently pockets the whole.

In one instance, related on authority, in an opulent and fertile part of Ireland, the property of a nobleman whose name is not permitted to be mentioned, a beneficed clergyman had his tithes, amounting to six hundred pounds, collected by a tithe-farmer, who levied on the people one thousand three hundred every year. The parishioners, anxious to relieve themselves from such an imposition, proposed to raise the tithe themselves to the rector to eight hundred pounds, and get rid of the "extortioner;" but the offer was declined, unless the latter were secured in an equal sum upon the same tithes! Embarrassments so disgraceful to the clergy as this, created by the villany of tithe-agents and tithe-farmers, are not uncommon; and this case forms but one link in those heavy chains that trammel

intellect, respectability, and industry in a state of inactivity worse than useless.

It is a matter of perfect conviction, to every one who knows the subject, that the clergy do not receive *a tenth*; we have undoubted evidence of this, were it only from the impossibility of getting it, and none can know the fact more truly than the respected individuals for whom it is assigned *: the unwillingness to give it; — the unfairness of collection in most instances, on both sides; — the demoralizing, rather uncivilizing effects of litigation, and the interruption of religious harmony — one of the sweetest effects of the Christian doctrine; — these considerations, independently of the direct injury inflicted on domestic comfort and good neighbourhood, would lead to a conclusion unanimous and sincere, that the tax of tithe should be made a question for immediate and final adjustment. †

The civil magistrate, that is, the state consisting of its three legislative branches, as it possesses dominion, so it must efficiency; and where a great public evil like this exists, that power should be applied to correct it. The inexpediency of the tax is a main objection to its continuance, for it seems generally admitted, that the mischief it occasions greatly outbalances its good; the question then becomes, what is most expedient in its room?

* See the Bishop of Limerick's observation in the journal, page 301.

† A clergyman in Ireland told me, among many other grievances, that he had received notice from twenty-seven persons to draw his tithe in kind, all on the same day; and that some of them lived fifteen miles from each other. The following article appeared in the Galway Advertiser, 18th October, 1822: "At the quarter sessions, at Gort, one tithe-proctor processed ELEVEN HUNDRED persons for tithe. They were all or most of the lower order of farmers or peasants: — the expence of each process about eight shillings." How many useful and worthy men would these law-costs alone make happy.

Humanity and policy say, the peasantry, the pedestal of the standing column, must not be suffered to lie in ruin, — no, for then the column itself would soon sink into the dust, and its decorations lie around in graceless confusion. The same excellent monitors forbid to leave the gospel guide to perish amidst plenty, shed from the bounteous hand of Providence in such glorious profusion. All may be well, if only all be unanimous for that common good, which involves the best and dearest interests of all, and in which there is a superabundance for the wants of all.

Instead then of this odious, this "noxious institution," which has produced, and is still producing such heart-burnings, and baneful idleness, and discontent, and outrage, and excommunications, and endless miseries, an easy substitute may be sought, under parliamentary sanction, which may meet the wants and wishes of each party, priest and people, and confer a benefit on both. The clergy in convocation can best explain their own views of this rueful subject, and shew the extent and justice of their claim to indemnification: the complaints of the people are before the world. It will then remain for the wisdom of parliament to consider the best means of determining that indemnification, and of securing public tranquillity by such enactments as will reconcile the present contending interests.

To attempt anticipating that solemn decision might be considered presumptuous, but its necessity is of that imperative nature which would seem to justify the observations or suggestions of any rational mind, in which the interests of humanity and the common welfare have a place. Under this impression, then, it is unhesitatingly asserted, that the recent enactment touching the subject of tithe in Ireland, will be found inoperative, or at best par-

tial,—in no respect productive of general influence in abatement of the great cause of complaint.

The measure to be applied must embrace the subject and reconcile its discrepancies, general in its application, and leaving no loop-hole for chicanery; else it will be used in vain, and the mischief will still maintain its ruinous tendency. The bill of 1822 directs the tithe by lease to be collected in the same manner as the county cess; but the justness of letting tithe by lease is disputed, the property being variable and uncertain in value; for, whether the titheable land so leased prove barren or productive, still the contract would be binding; whereas tithe from its very nature is incapable of pre-valuation: may not, then, the principle of county cess, as now in use, be extended to collect a sufficient fund for the maintenance of the clergy, in lieu of tithe under its present form?

The grand juries are composed of the resident gentry, and as they know the local value of land, and have a right to know the ability of each person to pay a just share of such a contribution, they can best assess it. If, however, the predilection for jobbing, of which some of the members of that generally respectable body are accused, should render them ineligible for such a trust, it will not be difficult to find persons better qualified, and more inclined to do justice between the tithe-claimant and the party who is to meet that claim, than is the proctor or the tithe-farmer, as the case now stands. Any change would be undoubtedly for the better.

A fund might thus be raised on a principle to which no reasonable objection can be made, and which would be more than amply sufficient to indemnify the clergy for the present amount of tithe, should that be deemed requisite; so that the great bulk of the people would be left at ease

to attend to their industrious avocations, without the perpetual drains upon their labours, which now leave them scarcely a shadow of that for which they struggle with incessant toil. Further,—the same fund might be made a means of defraying a system of national education, and thus the great machine of public life would work harmoniously in all its parts, and national prosperity be the grand and lasting result.

SECTION III.

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION.

ANY person who reads or thinks at all, must know that employment and education are indispensable to the well being, if not to the very existence of a free state: so obvious are their advantages, that to dwell on them would be an insult to the understanding of every reader. It has long been fashionable to declaim against Irish *indolence*, and many writers of the first respectability, taking this for granted, have given themselves no further trouble about the matter. That the peasantry of that country are *idle*, is a melancholy fact; but that they are naturally and voluntarily so, has never been clearly enough demonstrated by any one writer, though that conclusion has been assumed by thousands.

I have, in another place, page 326, taken an opportunity to shew that idleness is forced upon them, and should be pitied as a misfortune rather than censured as a crime. This opinion is formed from the evidence of my own senses,

during many years spent among them: and, although by no means wedded to my own opinion, in this case I must confess that mere assertion or speculation from books does not efface impressions made by experience.

If I were desired to state, in a single word, what would be the greatest blessing that the wisdom of man could devise for the peasantry of Ireland, I should decidedly say *employment.* It must not, however, be concealed, that to provide this in sufficient quantity for a population so immense and rapidly increasing as that of Ireland, particularly during universal depression, is extremely difficult; but, any opinion tending to give just notions of the most feasible mode of directing the energies of so vast a body to useful rather than destructive purposes, merits, at least, a patient consideration.

To this point I have devoted much attention, and have collected the sentiments of several Irish gentlemen, whom I believe to be sincerely devoted to their country's welfare. I have been favoured with a letter from one, whose name would be a sufficient passport to respect, but, I regret to say, his modesty is too great to allow this guarantee to accompany the publication of his judicious views. "The only means," says this enlightened patriot, "by which this country can be served in the way of employment, is, by government prosecuting works of great public utility, in facilitating internal trade by means of roads and canals; but such works should not be carried on in the usual manner. The recommendation of every class and of every religious persuasion should be attended to, and jobbing prevented. The poor should be allowed a fair and proportionate interest in the lands, and there should be no check put upon their industry by heavy local taxes and exorbitant demands of tithe."

In addition to those suggestions, the improvement of harbours; the encouragement of fisheries; a little planting on every farm, and more extensively on every estate; reclaiming bogs and waste lands; rebuilding cottages on a cheap, comfortable plan; extending the manufacture of linen all over the country, and giving adequate premiums on every species of industry, may be noticed.

It is plain, however, that these most desirable objects can never be achieved by the unaided efforts of the government, — the landlords and gentry must lend their assistance: they should, if possible, be taught to know, that in administering to the imperative wants of the poor, and throwing widely open to them unrestrained employment, and active exertion, they are best promoting their own individual interests. Above all, as an immediate means of commencing this salutary undertaking, the effects of an absentee tax would be of incalculable benefit to every class of persons connected with Ireland; but, where patriotism is entirely wanting, a measure so salutary can scarcely be expected.

On the progress of education in Ireland, a difference of opinion has long existed, and still continues. Some persons maintain that the peasantry are almost wholly unlettered, while others affirm that, in mere letters, or reading and writing, devoid of moral knowledge, they are equal and even superior to the same class in England. The latter, which appears to be the prevailing opinion, is supported by the statements of Wakefield, the Edinburgh Review, and the Inquirer, — authorities, decidedly, of first rate value. The article on this subject in the Inquirer is from the pen of an Irishman of brilliant mind, and indefatigable industry, who holds a high rank in society.

It will doubtless be thought the height of temerity to op-

pose testimony so humble as mine to authorities so deservedly respected; of my inability to grapple with them in argument I am fully sensible, but I shall venture to weigh facts against the finest subtleties of logical induction, and on that ground feel no unwillingness to enter the lists; whilst, at the same time, I am aware of the danger of attempting to cope with such powers; but neither the critic's lash, nor any other consideration, shall ever deter me from detecting and exposing error where I believe it to exist, how exalted soever may be its station.

I will, therefore, fearlessly state my conviction, that the peasantry of Ireland are *not*, in any respect, so educated as the same class in Great Britain. This question made a strong impression on my mind, from having heard it in early life frequently and warmly disputed; and when I entered His Majesty's service, where English, Scotch, and Irish were indiscriminately mingled, the subject received some attention. My inquiries were extended to upwards of one hundred ships, comprehending at least 400,000 persons, and the result was very nearly in the following proportions:—

There were of those who could read and write, as, 8 *Scotch:* 3 *English:* 2 *Irish:*

Of those who could only read, there were, as, 7 *Scotch:* 4 *English:* 3 *Irish.*

With respect to the manner in which instruction is imparted, and the impression it makes on the mind, in Ireland, there can be but one opinion;—schools are wretchedly conducted. The *royal* and *chartered* schools, so munificently endowed, may, not unaptly, be compared to the huge excrescences which sometimes form on a lofty tree, and receive all the nutriment intended by nature for its growth and support: these may exist for a while, without

producing any visible injury, but their effect is certain; they induce decay, and inevitably tend to involve the whole in rottenness and ruin. If these nests of sloth and corruption were swept away, a few monopolizing jobbers might lament the loss of their unearned, unhallowed wages; — "a beneficed clergyman who received FIFTEEN HUNDRED POUNDS a year from the endowment, *and never went near it*," might be sorry; but surely "the usher, a man of learning, *who did all the duty for* FORTY POUNDS"* might have his services more justly rewarded, and be made to rejoice: — the nation would rejoice.

During three-fourths of a century the blood-hounds of bigotry and interested intolerance hunted down learning with a zeal which, had it been properly directed, would have produced lasting benefits and honour to the country. The wonder is not that it should now be so reduced, but rather that there should be a trace of it remaining. Its duration alone is a sufficient proof of the Irish disposition to cherish learning: of their capability of receiving it, proofs are not wanting; if any were required, I need only refer to the journal, where it may be seen, that persons upwards of *sixty*, some nearly *eighty* years old, have learned to read and write in a few months, amidst the disadvantages and despondency of imprisonment. The statement of these facts rests not on my authority alone; every facility has been left for detection, but the truth of the matter is above dispute; the fertility of the mental soil has never been questioned, — it only wants culture.

It may, perhaps, be said, that Ireland has as many schools in proportion to her size as England; — granted; but what is taught in those schools? Very little indeed that

* Dr. Bell, page 43.

can ever be made useful to the individual or the public. Proselytism has ever been the bane of peace and social happiness in Ireland. It has been the end and aim of every school establishment, but the true means of effecting that object have been always overlooked.

Dispositions purely Catholic were to be transmuted into Protestant; but the mind was never fitly prepared for such a salutary change; can any one wonder, then, that our moral alchymists have made so little progress? First proselytize, afterwards educate, has been the plan pursued; this, in my humble opinion, is beginning at the wrong end. To separate prejudice from ignorance has never yet been effected, and never can be. If the mind be first expanded by education, and made to comprehend and appreciate the divine influence of truth, unwarped by abstract dogmas, the principles of pure religion will find a more ready access to the heart, and may attain stability.

In the long catalogue of evils that almost overwhelm Ireland, there is not one for which it is so difficult to point out an unobjectionable and efficient remedy as that under consideration. While Catholics and Protestants are educated together, abuses and causes of discontent will exist, in spite of every effort of the philanthropist. During my excursions in Ireland, I visited a great many schools, but saw none conducted on a plan that I can recommend. The least objectionable is that instituted by the *London Hibernian Society*, which should be encouraged and extended, until a better system shall be devised.

SECTION IV.

POLITICAL MONOPOLY.

THE wisest policy of a state is to make every individual contribute to the common good, according to the natural means he possesses; any government, therefore, which deprives itself of such means by disqualification or exclusion, is obviously unwise; nothing but a superabundance of such means can excuse the imprudence. This has reference merely to the concerns of the state; but with regard to the subject, that disqualification or exclusion is a violation of justice.

According to the law of nations no subject ought to transfer his allegiance to a foreign state, in prejudice to his own; the same principle applies *è contrario;* no state has a right to employ the subjects of another, in preference to its own, unless the foreigner possess superior talents. For the same reason, no government acts justly which treats one portion of its subjects as aliens, to the aggrandizement of another, provided no act of the excluded deserve that partiality.

It is for the common interest that merit alone should be the test of every person's pretension to distinction. If acts injurious to general or individual welfare be committed, the infliction of just punishment will be the best way to set aside the offender, and make room for one of more pure efficiency.

These principles are strongly applicable to the state of Ireland now, more than at any former period. Poverty has flung her icy mantle over all the land; the great scramble is not for acres or office, — both have long been

swallowed up in the gulf of monopoly, which has remained yawning wide, ever since patriotism was put aside by peculation; — the scramble now is for shelter under that rug which delinquency has left: the innocent and the guilty are sunk alike in despondency, — equally divested of national dignity and national honours.

Such is the moment that a guiding, — saving spirit would seize upon, rather than wait for the hour of frenzied desperation, to renovate the nation, and give it a just participation in the pure and immortal benefits of the constitution; to dispense the blessing with impartial hand, and shower favours only on the most deserving.

The brief historical sketch, given in the beginning of this volume, exhibits a few, and only a few, of the penal enactments which first deprived the Irish Catholics of all their rights, both natural and acquired, and have long kept them in a state of *helotic* vassalage. The merits of those prohibitory and galling laws, at the time of their enactment, as well as their consequences ever since, it is not my intention here to discuss; on the propriety, the justice, the imperative necessity of rescinding them now, *in toto*, it is scarcely worth while to say any thing; for, in this respect, there are few who seriously entertain a doubt.

What security, in church or state, can the constitution derive from the enthralment of seven-eighths of the people of Ireland? What danger has the constitution to fear from emancipating the Catholics? None, certainly. Can any one, in his sober senses, imagine, that giving them an interest in the country could make them wish for a revolution? Would the Orange ascendancy be lessened by these, their fellow subjects, being joined with them in the bonds of peace and love? — This is a tender place; here lies the whole secret: — it is probable they would, and

for this reason; should merit be made the door through which *every* man must pass to preferment, it is possible the road might prove, to some, more rugged than heretofore. Emulation would then be excited; talent, industry, and worth might quit their long-neglected hiding places, and the jaws of monopoly be for ever closed.

As to the idea of danger, it is perfectly ridiculous. In my conscience I most firmly believe, that twenty Orangemen could not be found in Ireland, nor twenty old women, who sincerely think, — who really imagine, that their personal safety would be, in the slightest degree, endangered by such a measure. Their apprehensions, their jealousies, their precautions, and their clamours, all emanate from the same source, tend to the same point, and are influenced by the same motive — *self-interest*. Only secure to them all the places, all the pensions, and all the profits of the state, and, in good sooth, you may emancipate the Catholics to-morrow. So attached to monopoly are the *ultras*, that, not content with enjoying all the tangible good things themselves, some of them even *bottle up* all the loyalty, and only serve it out occasionally to favourites.

But it is not the poor Catholics alone whose allegiance is suspected; harmless Protestants are also thrown into the back ground; none but Orangemen are the "right sort." It is but fair, however, to state, that they have been considerate and liberal enough to remove all unnecessary obstructions to admission: every one that chooses to call himself a Protestant, though he were an Atheist in principle, and though it be low-water mark with his pocket or character, may get initiated, and wear the *true* badge of fidelity. What charity was, in primitive times, Orangeism is at present; — it covers a multitude of sins. The whole concern is too farcical to be treated with serious argument; and,

yet, it sometimes occasions the darkest tragedies to be acted!

As these distinctions have no other tendency, nor object, it would seem, than that of dividing the country against itself, and lacerating the ties of nature, they should no longer be kept up. The politician should remember, that their continuance is incompatible with Ireland's prosperity, and that, sooner or later, they must be removed.

A circumstantial detail of the magistracy of Ireland would afford ample materials for a large volume. On this interesting subject I have collected many facts, and am in possession of much valuable matter, but must decline entering into an extended investigation. If it be fair to judge of causes by their effects, the state of Ireland would not argue much for the wisdom and integrity of its magistrates; and that it is fair so to judge, is sanctioned not only by the voice of mankind, but by the infallible dictum of divine wisdom, "the tree is known by its fruit."

In the distribution of places, whether executive or sinecure, some degree of consistency may in general be observed. Some persons have been selected for having extensive possessions; others for influence; many for a species of pliability, or sycophancy, called address; and a few, a very small number indeed, on account of their merit; but the appointment of magistrates appears often to have been influenced by the most unaccountable caprice. The late dismissals may have effected some good, but that purgation must be resorted to again and again, before the evil is eradicated. The magisterial chair is still disgraced and polluted by persons who might have been useful to society and themselves as ploughmen or weavers, but are utterly unfit to fill situations of responsibility.

If a magistrate in England thought it necessary to com-

mit a delinquent to gaol on a charge of felony, it would be considered uncourteous in another to set the felon at liberty a few minutes afterwards; and to see the offended magistrate eagerly watching for an opportunity to retaliate, would not be admitted either as a proof of liberality or a strong sense of public duty. But if the good people of England were to hear of one magistrate sending a summons to another, and that one using it in a manner that decency forbids to mention, and sending it back to the person by whom it was issued, they would at least call it a *breach of politeness:* such things happen now and then among magisterial *gentlemen* in Ireland, and are scarcely noticed. The example of such men must, doubtless, have a very salutary tendency, and the laws they administer will, of course, be greatly respected!

In no country on the face of the earth is the term "*justice of the peace*" so little expressive of the duty performed as in Ireland; *disturber* of the peace would be much nearer the truth. I know magistrates in Ireland to whom any man might send a "*compliment*" with as little ceremony as he would for a pound of tea to a grocer's shop, and with as little chance of offending: *Nulli vendemus justitiam.* To say that these things have never been known in the right quarter, is perfectly absurd and untrue; they have been dragged before the public often enough, but so seldom redressed, that the people now think it worse than useless to complain; they would be persecuted for so doing.

It was stated by Lord Kingston, in the House of Peers in 1806, that "the magistrates in the county of Sligo were the real promoters of the disturbances. The conduct of many of them was such as to disgrace the magistracy, and some of them deserved rather to be hanged than to be made magistrates." In 1811, Judge Day accused the ma-

gistrates of Kerry of neglect, corruption, and partiality. In 1816, Mr. Ponsonby stated in the House of Commons, that he found among the magistrates a fellow who had been waiter at a country inn. It would be useless to adduce more; the newspapers, every year, teem with acts of oppressive delinquency and sordid selfishness.

If it were honestly confessed that, heretofore, most of the streams were corrupt, and that the fountain itself was far from pure, a salutary change might fairly be hoped for: until errors are seen, and acknowledged to exist, they can never be corrected. An honest magistracy, and a vigorous police, would greatly help to resuscitate the nation. Legal vengeance has generally been active enough in overtaking crime after perpetration; but no attempt was ever made to prevent its commission. Foreigners of all countries say that our thirst for blood is insatiable; their arguments in support of this calumnious assertion are unanswerable; they refer triumphantly to our criminal code, which certainly would do credit to Algiers or Turkey.

The magistracy should be re-organized; respectable Catholics, particularly the clergy, should not only be admitted, but invited and encouraged to accept the situation; and Orangeism should disqualify *every* man, however deserving in other respects, from holding that important office. Factions of every description should be crushed, and injustice punished: the law should protect every man, and be above the reach of no man. The Roman tyrant directed his despotic laws to be hung up at so great a distance from the people, that no one could read them. What is the use of laws, if "the peasant, oppressed or defrauded to the amount of ten pounds, cannot buy even a chance of redress in the lottery of the law for less than sixty pounds;" and if "by victory or defeat, he is equally

and irremediably ruined?" * Who will be bold enough to say, that such a wretched manner of administering good laws should be permitted to exist another hour?

Having mentioned the Catholic clergy, I will simply suggest the propriety of educating them liberally, and maintaining them respectably, at the public expence, without troubling the reader with any arguments in support of the proposition. Both the Catholic and the Presbyterian clergy should be placed above want. I am fully aware that this will be the most unpopular opinion I have yet advanced. The Protestant will consider it an encouragement of popery; the Catholic will view it in its true light; he knows right well that nothing could tend so effectually to destroy the unlimited influence he at present possesses over his flock. Had the church establishment been divided between Protestant and Catholic after the surrender of Limerick, as was intended and offered by King William, there would not be one Catholic in Ireland where there are now three. Persecution has never been a convincing argument. What were the impressions made on the minds of those who witnessed the *roasting* of human beings on account of religious opinions in former days? Thorough conviction of their sincerity and truth. But the established church need not be alarmed; there is little danger of a measure so salutary being carried into effect. The Protestant will not give, — the Catholic will not receive, a yearly stipend. His refusal, however, would take away all ground of complaint on his part, or that of his followers.

On the subject of smuggling, I got more information from justices of the peace than from all other classes put together. I was told of a gentleman who has excavated, and

* Past and Present, p. 55.

prepared for the reception of smuggled goods, a place large enough to contain three or four hundred rolls of tobacco. This I had from a magistrate, who appears well inclined to oppose such practices, but has not the power; the whole neighbourhood, he said, would be against him. Several horses, loaded with smuggled goods, were seized some time ago, and lodged in this gentleman's stable, but were speedily rescued and forcibly taken away by a multitude of the peasantry. It is scarcely necessary to say that the foregoing sketch from real life is not meant to apply to *all* the magistrates of Ireland. Thank Heaven! there are left some of sterling worth and uncompromising integrity, whose bright example, if generally followed, would speedily redeem the nation. I have heard it often stated by excise officers, that much important information is frequently lost, or rendered unavailing, by a regulation of the board of excise, which prevents any officer, under the rank of collector, from writing to them on such matters. This board has displayed great powers of invention, and has contributed more than its share to produce the present. *happy* state of society: all things, truly, have worked together, and are boldly pushing onward to completion.

The organization and efficiency of the local military forces in Ireland, I mean the yeomanry corps, may entitle them to particular mention; in this respect my information is limited. These corps are certainly composed of the finest young men in the country; and, in Ulster, are not only all Protestants, but nearly, if not entirely, all Orangemen. Every corps is provided with music; and some of them evince a strong partiality for certain tunes, which are peculiarly offensive and irritating to the Catholics. It is not in "the concord of sweet sounds" the mischief lies, but in the vile ribaldry of the songs, always in recollection when those tunes are played. As there are not more than

two or three of those airs, it would be considered a measure of conciliation if the commander-in-chief were to specify them by name *, and issue a peremptory order against playing them on any occasion. By means of influence or interest, some of those corps are kept on permanent duty for a considerable period; but whether their services be, on those occasions, absolutely necessary to the preservation of the state, I am not able to determine.

Just as this sheet was about to be sent to press, I was favoured with a letter from my friend Doctor Harty, of Dublin, who has given close attention to every subject connected with the interests of his country, and whose opinions are deserving of attention and respect. I shall take the liberty of laying before the reader an extract from his letter.

"With respect to prison discipline among us," he says, "I do not hesitate to give it as my decided opinion, that, considering the state of the lower orders in Ireland, our penitentiary prisoners are treated *too well* for their own benefit or that of society, being better clothed, lodged, and fed, than they possibly could be were they at large; and, in my judgment, they ought in all these respects, to be rather worse than better off while in prison, excepting merely in point of cleanliness. *While in prison* they should receive no remuneration for their labour, nor should any thing be given on their departure, except to the well-conducted. The term of imprisonment should be much shorter than it is. Under the present system, our prisons are becoming more and more crowded; and, if we proceed with it, we must either enlarge those we have, or add to their number."

* 1. The Boyne Water. 2. Croppies lie down. 3. The Protestant boys will carry the day.

I regret to say that those observations are fully confirmed by my own. It must not be concealed that some prisons in Ireland are managed in a way that proves directly a premium on crime. I have incontrovertible evidence, that offences are often committed in the beginning of winter for the express purpose of getting into gaol, where the culprit is sure of shelter and food. It often surprised me that this expedient was not resorted to by hundreds, whom I met in the streets and roads in a state approaching to nudity and starvation.

Besides being fed, lodged, and clothed, in nine out of ten of the Irish prisons, there is no labour to be done, which must be an additional inducement to persons addicted to idle or dissolute habits. Employment and irksome labour should be provided in every prison, be the expence what it may. Nothing can be more short-sighted and fallacious than the narrow-minded policy of keeping prisoners in a state of idleness, under the specious plea too of saving the county expence.

This, like most other parsimonious speculations, is sure to defeat its own purpose. The supporting such increased numbers as idleness will bring into a gaol in the course of the year, must more than make up for the miserable pittance that can be saved by a plan, the obvious tendency of which is to extinguish the last remaining spark of moral principle. I beg leave distinctly to state that these observations are meant to apply solely to Ireland, where the condition of the peasantry, and the state of society generally, are very widely different from those of England, or any other country in the world.

THE END.

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